

IN THESE TIMES



OSHA
Page 9

VOL. 6, NO. 32

AUGUST 11-24, 1982

\$1.00

LEBANON

**Thirty
Years'
War**

by Diana Johnstone

Page 10

**New Federalism
hits California**

by Thomas Brom

Page 7

THE INSIDE STORY



Paul Weyrich, reputed mastermind of the New Right

Pro-family politics: right debates left

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

If it wasn't the Clash of the Titans, it was close enough. In one corner was Paul Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Foundation and reputed inventor and political mastermind of the New Right. In the other was Michael Lerner, a California psychotherapist and an avowed democratic socialist. The occasion: a debate on how to protect the family.

It took no little chutzpah—not to say courage—for Lerner to face off with Weyrich since the debate was part of Family Forum II, a New Right summer extravaganza at the Sheraton Hotel here, and Lerner was outnumbered in the auditorium by about several hundred to one. Yet Weyrich, to his credit, put on a class act, conducting himself in a civil, if ideologically aggressive, manner.

The respective positions didn't take long to lay out. For Weyrich, the way to protect the family in America is to adopt the New Right program: cut non-defense government spending to the bone, deregulate most business, end "permissiveness" in education, ban abortion and keep "deviant" lifestyles—especially homosexual ones—out of sight.

To Lerner, the New Right program, far from solving family problems, is only making them worse. He came out swinging: "In the name of morality, you are pursuing policies that are immoral....The Moral Majority provides a fig leaf for the moral nakedness of the Reagan administration....The Moral Majority leadership has cynically manipulated many millions of Americans who clearly care about family life....to support programs that are in fact anti-family."

Lerner's practice in psychotherapy includes many working people in Fremont, Ca., a Bay Area suburb dependent on automobile assembly plants and currently suffering massive unemployment. He is also an alumnus of the New Left, having been an editor of *Ramparts* magazine and the author of a 1972 book called *The New Socialist Revolution*. He is now a founder and co-chair of Friends of Families, a left "pro-family" organization that has set out to reclaim some of the initiative on social issues from the New Right.

Friends of Families held a conference in San Francisco earlier this year, which Paul Weyrich infiltrated incognito. Afterward, Weyrich decided that Lerner, however politically misguided, was sincerely interested in family issues and decided to invite him to a debate at

the Family Forum II.

Lerner affirmed their common focus in his opening remarks: "I share a concern with the people in this room about the breakdown of family life. There is a real crisis facing families in America today, and I come as someone who advocates fundamental social changes in the name of some traditional values."

One value that this opening shunted aside was the great New Right bugaboo of "secular humanism." Lerner said he was a practicing Jew, and as a religious person he had no more sympathy with such an outlook than did Weyrich. He cited the Bible, especially the prophets' calls for social justice and the command in Leviticus for a redistribution of wealth in Israel every 50 years, as the traditional values on which he based his slashing attack on Reaganomics.

"Nothing destroys family life more quickly than unemployment," he said. "Yet the Reagan administration has dramatically increased unemployment, to the highest level since the Great Depression....This is not a pro-family policy....It destroys, it undermines the stability of families."

Lerner's "progressive pro-family" program starts with a full-employment policy fulfilled as needed by government action, along with "humanization of the workplace" via limitations on the power of corporations to close plants, force overtime and shift changes on employees, guarantees of paternity leave for men and so forth. It also calls for creation of a nationwide network of family support groups, child care center and free medical care, all of which would be controlled as much as possible by the people directly affected.

Weyrich was predictably unimpressed with Lerner's vision: "You know, every now and then somebody comes along and says we have reached a new era in our history, that now man is perfectable; that for the first time....since Creation we have the opportunity to do things that never have been done before with man." But, he retorted, history refutes such "utopian socialist dreams. The proposals that Dr. Lerner has made haven't been tried because they won't work....Such a society doesn't exist because it defies human nature."

Lerner countered by asking how many more years of high unemployment it would take to convince Weyrich that Reaganomics was a failure, and whether improvements in working conditions, like the move from a 12 to an eight-hour day, defied "human nature."

But Weyrich was resolute. The New Right economic program won't fail, he insisted, and family success depends more on an individual's moral fiber and inner peace than on the number of hours in a work shift.

The colloquy heated up when a question from the audience pointed out that Lerner's Friends of Families supports gay and lesbian families, although the Bible, in the same book of Leviticus Lerner had cited earlier, condemns homosexuality as an "abomination." Lerner replied that in today's society, families are defining themselves and take many healthy forms around a common content of committed loving relationships and the raising of the next generation. Thus, Friends of Families would not presume to impose arbitrary limits on this range of forms.

Lerner had already protested that Weyrich's repeated use of the phrase "traditional values" was unwarranted: "It is not the case that you represent traditional values. You represent one set of values that you root in the Bible. There are many different people who are just as good Christians and just as good Jews who read the Bible in different ways and say that their

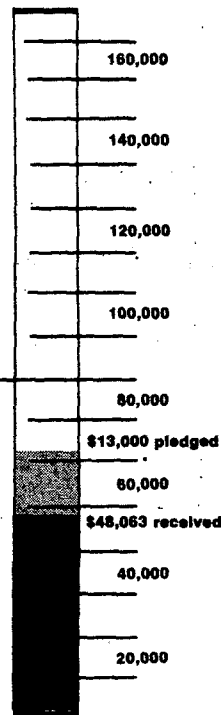
values are based on tradition.

But this objection did not move the audience, which broke into loud applause at Weyrich's condemnation of gays and lesbians. The audience response was similarly hostile when Lerner affirmed his group's support for "free choice" on abortion as part of its commitment to equality for women.

Weyrich denied charges that the New Right wished to oppress women, though he later affirmed that the authority of men as heads of families was "divinely ordained." He was similarly measured when asked from the floor where he thought Lerner and his views stood on the spectrum of the American Left. Weyrich placed Lerner "midway on the left side of the spectrum, as I would view it."

This description is largely accurate. Lerner has in fact engaged in much more vituperative polemics with other self-described leftists as to whether the family should be defended at all, or whether the whole philosophy behind Friends of Families was really only a cover for patriarchy, heterosexism and a sellout to traditional liberal capitalist politics. Weyrich's characterization also came after he had repeatedly tried to hang various passages from Lerner's book, *The New Socialist Revolution*, around his neck. The passages extolled the progressive role of Cuba and China in the world struggle for liberation and attacked monogamous marriage among other reactionary institutions. But Lerner repeatedly disavowed the passages as obsolete products of a callow youth. "I think that for a born-again movement," he said at one point, "there is no news about how people can change their minds about some very important issues....I'm not ashamed that once I was in my 20s. I'm at a different age now, and I have a different understanding."

Alms for the love of In These Times



IN THESE TIMES' emergency fund drive has gotten off to a good start, but has a long way to go. In order to continue publishing, we must raise \$160,000 by mid-September. In these first weeks we have received 1,197 individual contributions totaling \$48,063, an average of \$40. In addition, we have received pledges of \$13,000 and 94 subscribers have agreed to become monthly or quarterly sustainers, bringing our total number of sustainers to 324.

In past fund appeals 2,200 individuals have contributed. We hope to do better this time. So if you have not yet sent in a contribution, please do so now—and give until it feels good.

(Figures for graph: Total \$160,000. Received \$48,063, pledged \$13,000.)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Mid-America Publishing Co., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor
James Weinstein

Associate Editors
John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor
Sheryl Larson

Culture Editor
Pat Aufderheide

European Editor
Diana Johnstone

Staff: Emily Young, Editorial Assistant;
Nina Berman, Intern.

Correspondents: Kate Ellis (New York), David Fleishman (Tokyo), Robert Howard (Boston), Timothy Lange (Denver), David Mandel (Jerusalem), James North (Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 1419 Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612, (415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

ART

Co-Directors
Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors
Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition
Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weissstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1982 by Mid-America Publishing Co., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. This issue, (Vol. 6, No. 32) published August 11, 1982, for newspaper sales August 11-24, 1982.

Byrne appointees spark black boycott

By Laura Washington

CHICAGO

"NOUGH!" THAT cocky, arrogant cry is dancing on T-shirts, plastic buttons, posters and the lips of Chicagoans this summer. It's shorthand for the phrase "Enough is enough!", which may become the slogan of Chicago's first black citywide political organization in recent memory.

Blacks and liberal whites here are saying "Nough" to the legendary Democratic machine and the exploits of its erratic leader, Mayor Jane M. Byrne. And they claim they'll keep saying it all the way to the polls in April 1983. "There is a

Chicago blacks considered Mayor Byrne's appointment of three whites to the CHA board the final insult.

serious political movement building in the black community and there will be, for the first time, serious follow-through at the polls," says veteran black journalist and community leader Lu Palmer.

About 100 of Chicago's ethnic—mostly black—community, political and religious leaders and organizations have formed a citywide, grassroots coalition to demand a share of political power for blacks in a city dominated by whites. They are targeting Byrne's racist policies in governing the city, but they are planning a major upheaval of the political position of the black community. "People are just so damn mad that they are coming from all directions. But they are getting organized," Palmer said.

The coalition has corralled black anger over Byrne's racist policies to organize a boycott of her annual Chicago extravaganza, ChicagoFest. The 12-day spree on Lake Michigan's shores is an orgy of music, food and escapism. ChicagoFest officials expect about one million visitors at the event between Aug. 5 and 15. Those potential voters will be bombarded with Byrne's name on practically every hot dog wrapper and hand-out. Byrne's boosterism of the Fest, held since 1978, gains her favorable political exposure.

But Operation PUSH's Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and others urge that blacks should not take part in the "queen's annual coronation" to protest Byrne's "lack of respect" for the black community.

The disrespect has taken the form of mayoral appointments. The series of events that ignited the current protest began days after Byrne's election, which was made possible by an outpouring of blacks angry with her predecessor. About 68 percent of the black vote went to Byrne, who ran on a reform platform. Since then, Byrne has rebuked the black community by appointments she has made—and has not made.

• Despite her campaign pledge to open up the city government to blacks, Byrne has yet to appoint a black to her inner cabinet.

• The mayor attempted to ram through the Chicago board of education a white business executive to sit in the highly visible president's chair. Instead, board members selected a black minister. That

battle is one of the few that Byrne has lost to the black community, but the scars still show on her current handling of the board.

• In April 1981, Byrne dumped two black school board members and appointed two white women, creating a new white majority on a board that oversees a 83 percent minority school system. These women are well known for their anti-integration beliefs.

• Byrne also nixed the demands of a broad alliance of black leaders who called for the appointment of black educator Manford Byrd as school superintendent. The mayor instead recruited another black educator, Ruth B. Love, for the job.

• Early in her administration, Byrne appointed a white police department administrator as police chief over Deputy Police Superintendent Sam Nolan, a black who had worked his way up the police ranks.

• Byrne orchestrated the removal of black Chicago Transit Authority head Eugene Barnes by promising him her support in a race against U.S. Rep. Gus Savage (D-Ill.) for his congressional seat. Then she promptly endorsed Savage.



(Above) Marian Stamps, head of the Chicago Housing Tenant Association and (left) Jane M. Byrne, Mayor of Chicago.



These betrayals all sparked some protest, but it was not sustained on a citywide basis. Some observers blame the black community's complacency and lack of political organization. "We are a forgiving, short-of-memory people," U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) told *In These Times*. Washington is frequently mentioned as the leading potential black

candidate to run against Byrne and States' Attorney Richard M. Daley next year.

In the '70s, "blacks had moved away from political involvement—they had opted out...completely," Washington adds.

Black leaders thank Byrne for cutting them back in by way of her final insult: railroading three white appointees to the

Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) board last month. The appointments set up a white majority of four on the seven-member body that supervises Chicago's public housing projects. Its population of 144,000 is about 85 percent black. "We got help from the mayor. She has helped politicize large numbers of blacks that would otherwise never have been politicized," says Renault Robinson, executive director of the Afro American Police League and a CHA board member.

The coalition hopes those blacks will be on the picket lines this month to protest against Byrne's policies and her ChicagoFest.

Critics of the boycott claim that most black Chicagoans do not attend the event, therefore their economic impact on the Fest will be slim. A Fest spokesperson says that only about 18 percent of the 834,000 who attended the 1981 Fest were black.

Boycott supporters argue that low black attendance is a product of the Fest's white orientation. "The history of ChicagoFest is lily-white. Its history has been that there is involvement of blacks only under pressure," Washington says.

This year there has been only token black participation. According to Washington, only six of the 40-odd ChicagoFest vendors are local black businessmen

Continued on page 6

El Salvador policy by default

By Anne Nelson

WASHINGTON

"THE ADMINISTRATION thinks its El Salvador policy functions better in the dark—and they're right," complained a congressional aide. But it seemed as though everyone in Washington was fumbling for a hold on the problem last week, as the Capitol underwent round after round of congressional hearings, administration pronouncements and state department infighting without edging any closer to a solution.

Central America has been placed on a back burner in Washington since the March 28 elections in El Salvador, partly

out of confusion over what the elections represent, but primarily because of the front-page urgency of the Falklands and the Middle East. Congress was obliged to return to the issue of Central America as left over business before the end of its session, and the exchange of Alexander Haig for George Shultz at the State Department has raised the question of what Latin American policy—if any—Shultz has in mind to pursue. Washington's Latin American diplomatic community is already talking ominously about U.S.-Latin American relations in the "post-Malvinas era."

This week's spark was the administration's certification of human rights improvements in El Salvador. In 1981 floods of constituent mail led Congress to insert a twice-yearly certification requirement

on El Salvador into the Foreign Assistance Act as a qualification for continued aid to the regime. The certification hearings six months ago became a fiery contest between members of Congress and administration representatives who were trying to treat the event as a pro-forma exercise.

This round the administration showed a subtle upper hand and turned the hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into an exercise in predictability. "If the U.S. pulls out of El Salvador," Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders warned, "the right-wing will say the attempt to collaborate with the U.S. has failed, so 'let's do it our way,' and there would be a right-wing coup."

Jesse Helms added, "We all better

Continued on page 6

INSHORT

NOW's time for new tactics

Frustrated by the Florida state legislature's refusal to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, an onrush of women—81 to be exact—have filed to run for state office in the upcoming elections. (Florida was the only non-ERA state to schedule election filing deadlines after the ERA defeat.) Twenty women will run for the 40-member senate and 61 for the house. Almost all the candidates are pro-ERA, and State Sen. Pat Frank predicts that "this new force in the political arena is the most dramatic development in the past decade and will bring sweeping changes in state legislatures for years to come." And Gloria Sackman-Reed of the National Organization for Women (NOW) believes that these women, along with fighting for the ERA, will work for reproductive rights and other social issues. (Florida funds no Medicaid abortions.)

More good news: Electoral victories were scored in early July in North Carolina, where two pro-ERA candidates defeated anti-ERA ones in the elections there. According to NOW president Eleanor Smeal, this is just a first step toward a new era of direct political participation for women. "We are committed to work to increase the numbers of women holding elected office, to support those who supported women's rights issues and to remove from office as many opponents as possible," she said.

A bitter pill to swallow

People in Bangladesh don't know what's good for them, according to several multinational pharmaceutical corporations (two of them U.S. based) that are trying to prevent that nation from implementing a law calling for the immediate withdrawal of 237 dangerous drugs and discontinuing production of another 1,500. The law is patterned after a World Health Organization recommendation that suggests Third World countries eliminate non-essential drugs and instead concentrate on the production and supply of a limited number of essential drugs.

Some would agree that it's not a bad suggestion. But not the State Department. "We would like to delay implementation of the law," a State Department representative in Washington, D.C., said recently. And the U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh and the U.S.-based Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association have met with top government officials in Bangladesh urging them to stop the drug reforms.

At stake is a \$70 million-a-year drug market, 80 percent of it controlled by eight multinationals. According to Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, sources in Bangladesh have indicated that by the end of June several multinationals were threatening to totally withdraw all production facilities in the country, including those that manufacture essential drugs. The Bangladesh government has calculated that the drug reforms would save the nation \$4 million annually in foreign exchange, increase the supply and decrease the costs of essential drugs and prohibit multinationals from producing low-level technology drugs, like vitamins, that could easily be produced at home.

Passing the cluster bomb

From the people who bring you B-52 bombers, Trident and Polaris submarine torpedoes, ICBMs and computers used in the Pentagon's world-wide military command and control system, Honeywell Corporation—one of the military's top contractors—is also offering cluster bombs. According to PLO officials and a July 2 article in *The Times of London*, Israeli forces have been using Honeywell-made MK 20, Mod 3 cluster bombs in and around Beirut. The MK 20 clusters carry 247 dart-shaped, armor-piercing bomblets that detonate upon impact. Developed in the '60s, cluster bombs were used extensively by the U.S. in the Vietnam war. In a June 30 letter to the *Washington Post*, the Southeast Asia Resource Center claimed that "since 1964, they [cluster bombs] have killed or injured 5,000 people," including a Laotian woman who was killed in 1981 after coming upon one while digging an irrigation canal.

A target of loud protests and frequent pickets during the '60s, (pickets that continue weekly to this day), Honeywell Corporation recently received a letter of protest from the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee calling upon board chairman and chief executive officer Edson Spencer to "order an immediate halt to the [production of the] Honeywell-made cluster bomb...and that after the war ends, Honeywell send its personnel into Lebanon to remove the bombs from Lebanese terrain." The chances for such action are grim considering that Honeywell rejected a similar plea to assist the Vietnamese government in a clean-up operation following the war there.

And President Reagan's recent suspension of cluster bomb sales to Israel is just too little too late since dormant bombs lie scattered around Lebanon ready to go off. Already these bombs have maimed innocent Lebanese and Palestinian children and promise to do so long after the war has ended. When asked to respond to this hazard, a Honeywell representative answered, "If this question concerns the operation of these weapons you will have to talk to the U.S. government."

—Nina Berman



An illegal Salvadoran refugee was granted sanctuary on July 24 by a Chicago church, in a move that was supported by 60 religious groups there. By becoming a sanctuary, the church is violating the law and challenging the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Central American policy. This past year the INS accepted only two out of 5,500 requests by Salvadorans for political asylum.

Bruce Powell

Connecticut passes right-to-know law

HARTFORD, CT—Labor and citizen activists here have joined to guarantee a worker's right to know about toxic chemicals on the job, and to begin shifting the financial burden of hazardous waste management onto the producers of those wastes. The success of their efforts demonstrates a developing trend toward strong state and local action as the Reagan administration reduces federal environmental and labor safeguards (see story on page 9).

Connecticut's new "Right to Know" law, which takes effect next July 1, is among the strongest such protection in the country. Employers will be required to inform their workers in "informal and readily understandable language" about the toxic effects of chemicals used in the workplace. The information must include the names of the dangerous materials, locations where the workers may be exposed and the potential symptoms of exposure. Management must also provide instructions concerning safe use and levels of exposure to the chemicals, how to clean up leaks and spills and emergency treatment procedures.

If the information is not provided upon written request within the first month of a worker's employment, those already employed may refuse to work with certain chemicals if their inquiries are not answered within five days. The act covers 400 commonly used substances identified by federal Occupational Safety and Health Standards, chemicals for which the necessary information is easily obtained.

The most controversial provision of the new legislation is the public-access clause. Employers will no longer be able to hide under the cover of "trade secrets" but will have to file the chemical data of those substances with the state Department of Labor. And though the names of the trade secret will stay confidential, all the facts concerning the chemical will be open to public scrutiny.

The public-access clause grew

out of a continuing feud between a paint manufacturer and nearby residents, many of whom blame the factory for a variety of respiratory, skin and central nervous system disorders. The company is currently appealing a court ruling that found that it must disclose the chemicals it is using, and those that are possibly discharging from the plant.

"There is a tie between health in the workplace and health outside the factory," says Steve Derby, co-chair of the Connecticut Citizen Action Group, a direct action, public interest group that organized for the new laws. "It is an excellent tie between labor and community issues."

The producers of hazardous wastes will have to pay the state four cents for every gallon of toxic waste that they produce. The tax is expected to raise \$1 million per year to buy drinking water for communities with contaminated wells and to expand the state's monitoring and inspection staffs. But due to a strong industry lobbying effort, the tax will expire in three years.

—Steve Singer

Michaux loses in N. Carolina

DURHAM, N.C.—North Carolina last elected a black member of Congress in 1901. He was out of the famous "Black Second," a rural district curling through the state's northeast. In the few years following 1901, North Carolina's blacks were legally disenfranchised and the coalition of black and white farmers—Populism's legacy—crumbled. This July 27, H.M. "Mickey" Michaux, a black former legislator and U.S. Attorney from Durham, lost a runoff primary for the Democratic Congressional nomination in the new Second District. The state's history of politics dominated by racial issues remained intact.

Michaux's opponent was Tim Valentine, who served as state Democratic Party chair in the '60s and portrayed himself as a

die-hard conservative forcefully in favor of the Reagan economic program. While Michaux led the first primary with 44 percent of the vote against Valentine's 33 percent and a second opponent's 23 percent, in the runoff primary white voters closed ranks and Valentine rolled up 59,270 votes (54 percent), to Michaux's 50,878.

"Race is still so powerful in the politics of this state," said Michaux's campaign manager Kevin Smith as the final margin of defeat became clear. "Black turnout across the district was tremendous, especially for a midsummer runoff with few local races. But Mickey got less than one in every six white votes."

The Second District includes nine rural counties in northeastern North Carolina long represented by retiring arch-conservative L.H. Fountain. But in 1980 the U.S. Justice Department—by way of the 1965 Voting Rights Act—forced the N.C. legislature to include urban Durham County with its powerful Committee on the Affairs of Black People in the Second District. Michaux's entry into the race sparked massive black voter registration throughout the district—raising the percentage of black voters to 38. These voters turned out in record numbers for Michaux in 95-degree heat, spurred on by a letter to each black household signed by Coretta Scott King. But white voters poured out too, especially in Valentine's rural home territory.

Some Michaux staffers suggested in the wake of Michaux's defeat that the campaign did not put forth bread-and-butter issues to convince white voters to pull the ballot levers for him. In the last days of the runoff, Michaux, instead of going after Valentine on defense spending, social security cuts, Congressional passage of the reintroduced ERA, the nuclear freeze and the gutting social programs by the Reagan administration, tried to attract white voters by projecting an image of respectability and competence.

Meanwhile, Valentine sent a letter to all white voters in the district after the first primary reminding them that Michaux's support came from a "well-organized block [sic] vote" and

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

that Michaux would "again be bussing his supporters to the polling places." Michaux took the racial bait, emphasizing publicly that the election's outcome depended on an organized turnout rather than issue differences.

Michaux and Valentine each spent over \$150,000 in the primary. Significant portions of Michaux's money came from national labor unions and liberal PACs, while Valentine's largest contributors were the oil company PACs and the political wing of the American Medical Association.

Tuesday's defeat temporarily dashed the hopes of Southern leftists who believed that a black candidate could be elected from a predominantly rural southern Congressional district. And the Second District is now left without a real choice in November: conservative Valentine's Republican opponent is former Duke University and professional basketball star Jack Marin, who has the formidable support of Jesse Helms' Congressional Club.

—Steve Schewel

Teachers union toes the line

NEW YORK—While a predicted 55,000 teachers will be newly unemployed this fall, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is going ahead with a glittering new headquarters in Washington, D.C.

At the AFT convention held here in July, President Albert Shanker was reelected (unopposed), dues were increased to fund the office building and a constitutional change made conventions biennial instead of annual starting in 1984. With these changes and others passed in the last few years, Shanker has succeeded in bringing the once feisty, liberal, democratic, half-million member union into the mainstream of American business unionism, complete with cold-war ideology.

Even Shanker supporters have been startled by the rapid bureaucratization. And they admit that just as his machine has triumphed, the union and the rank-and-file has experienced the turmoil and defeat. Membership dropped 25,000 this year and AFT's strategy of organizing health workers to replace laid-off teachers has failed.

Shanker parlayed his control of New York City's 65,000-member local into control of the statewide teachers union and the national AFT in 1974. His power within the AFT and the New York City local depends on a tightly controlled machine and a national prominence gained in

the early '60s for the union's militant, stunning organizing victories and its support of early civil rights battles in the South.

But starting with the union's bitter strike against the city's community control plan for schools, Shanker has increasingly pitted the union against social movements that seek reforms and look to the schools as a route to them. On almost every social controversy—from bilingual education to affirmative action—Shanker has used his secure hold on the AFT apparatus to defend the status quo.

This year's convention endured a brutal fight over minority lay-offs that pitted black caucus members against Shanker and the convention's white delegate majority. On Shanker's urging, the union voted 4-to-1 to oppose a court decree that sought to protect black teachers in the Boston school system by prohibiting the union from using a strict seniority system as the basis for lay-offs. A minority of the union proposed that the Boston local negotiate dual seniority lists (one black and one white), but the union rejected the offer and the convention voted instead to defend the regular seniority system—in effect, they voted for an all-black lay-off. The case may go before the Supreme Court.

To fight Reagan cuts, the national leadership has consistently relied on standard lobbying campaigns, letter-writing and the support of Democratic and Republican politicians endorsed by the AFL-CIO. In a new twist, Shanker has started calling for an alliance between the union, the banks and big business. These "new allies" contradict the union's formal policy of pressing for higher corporate taxes to fund education.

In contrast to the national leadership, some locals like Philadelphia have successfully built support among other unions to resist cutbacks. While these locals may have a more aggressive stance, it has been impossible so far for the rank-and-file to translate this militancy to the national level. Presidents of reform locals continue to vote with Shanker on the convention floor. The only ostensible opposition caucus, the United Action Caucus (UAC), is a top-down formation that parallels Shanker's unswerving defense of the American military and political establishment. But this year several activists—spurred by the UAC's lackluster organizing as well as its refusal to endorse a resolution condemning both martial law in Poland and aid to El Salvador—agreed to try to create a new opposition vehicle for next year's convention in Los Angeles.

—Lois Weiner

Briefing: Chain Reaction

For the past couple of months, many people have been worrying about the 50,000 nuclear weapons that are threatening the future of civilization. But doomsday isn't that simple: The nation's 74 nuclear power plants—each packed with hundreds of radioactive isotopes equal to about 1,000 Hiroshima-sized bombs—continue to rust, crack, leak and mystify scien-

Company of New Hampshire persevered. Seven states have banned new nuclear power plants within their borders until someone thinks of a place to put nuclear waste, the garbage that stays lethally radioactive for millions of years. In the fall the Supreme Court will hear an appeal from two California utilities—supported by the Reagan administration—claiming that the state prohib-

always convincing. Some people in Congress fear the end of their own term in office more than they fear the end of the world. If successful, the freeze PACs should persuade even hawkish candidates that their support for disarmament will be good for their political survival while also deterring a nuclear holocaust.

During the United Nations Session on Disarmament this summer, a small, new peace group with a very select membership was introduced to the media: Generals for Peace and Disarmament. So far the



After checking their last calculations, the NRC recently announced that a Three Mile Island-type accident can be expected every 13 years or so.

tists across America.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission recently issued a report to revise an earlier report on the possibility of more serious nuclear accidents like Three Mile Island (TMI). They added up 19,400 small nuclear accidents from 1969 to 1979, with 169 considered potential disasters, and then figured out that with 74 reactors on-line now, chances are we might have one TMI-type accident (a near or total meltdown) every 13-and-a-half years—not, oops, every 200 or 300 years as previously calculated. So if you missed Three Mile Island, you can catch a rerun at your local reactor.

Even if you did miss TMI, you might still pay for it. The Senate will be voting on a bill to require the nation's utility customers to pay \$170 million to clean up the damaged reactor. The total cost is estimated at \$1.3 billion, which the plant's owners, General Public Utilities (GPU), and the stockholders claim they can't afford. GPU has hinted that it might have to go out of business if it had to pay that kind of money.

Apparently, it doesn't much matter that last May the three counties surrounding TMI voted overwhelmingly to keep TMI shut down. Or that over the years the town of Seabrook has voted several times to halt construction of the Seabrook plant; the Public Service

Commission recently issued a report to revise an earlier report on the possibility of more serious nuclear accidents like Three Mile Island (TMI). They added up 19,400 small nuclear accidents from 1969 to 1979, with 169 considered potential disasters, and then figured out that with 74 reactors on-line now, chances are we might have one TMI-type accident (a near or total meltdown) every 13-and-a-half years—not, oops, every 200 or 300 years as previously calculated. So if you missed Three Mile Island, you can catch a rerun at your local reactor.

So far, the nuclear freeze movement has avoided plugging any candidates for election this November for fear of alienating its bi-partisan support. Now for those freeze advocates who want to join the political fray, there are two brand new political committees clamoring for your money and help to elect pro-freeze candidates. PeacePac is directed by Paul Warnke, the former Carter arms negotiator, and the U.S. Committee Against Nuclear War is headed by nine members of Congress (whose campaigns do not benefit from the Committee). Writing in behalf of the Committee, Massachusetts Rep. Ed. Markey argued that "while the nuclear freeze movement is gaining by the day, in the end it will have to be Congress that responds to the public and forces the White House to the negotiating table." His appeal for contributions included an inducement from Sen. Ted Kennedy and the text of the House freeze resolution.

Although Markey introduced the freeze resolution in the House, as a long-time nuclear critic (weapons and energy) he must have realized that in Washington non-binding resolutions are nice but not

group numbers 13, all retired NATO generals or admirals. Retired Admiral John Marshall Lee is the only American; the rest are from West Germany, Norway, Portugal, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy and France. They presented an 18-page memorandum to the UN delegates but were not granted an opportunity to address the assembly. General Nino Pasti, also a member of the Italian senate, couldn't even get a visa to get into the U.S.

In the memo, the group wrote, "We have come to the conclusion that being a soldier in our nuclear age does no longer mean to gain military victories on the battlefield but to prevent war; this includes taking part in the social and political process toward peace and justice between human beings and to engage in all activities to overcome poverty, suppression, and racial discrimination....Our second career is therefore dedicated to the struggle against the arms race, to disarmament and peaceful settlement of international disputes."

If there's Generals for Peace and Disarmament, how about the Association of Weapons Manufacturers Against the End of the World? Or Superpowers for Social Responsibility?

—Susan Jaffe

Susan Jaffe writes on nuclear issues for *The Village Voice*.



D. Jaffe '82

Boycott

Continued from page 3

and only two of the original 12 musical acts were black artists. One of them, Stevie Wonder, who cancelled out a week before the Fest start-up, was accommodating the boycott effort, Jackson claims.

The boycott is a natural for Jackson, who recently won major concessions from the Coca Cola Bottling Co. after a PUSH-sponsored boycott of its products. In fact, Jackson has become the focus of media and community criticism of the boycott. Many say that the PUSH leader is using the boycott to exhibit his power over the black community and possibly prepare the way for a run for the mayorality.

Washington scoffs at those claims. "Jesse Jackson is not the issue. The issue is the treatment of blacks by the city government. That has to be redressed."

The coalition's leaders are already looking beyond the Fest to the future of black political power in Chicago. They hope the boycott will propel the disenfranchised into a more sophisticated awareness of their numerical power. "Blacks are becoming more politically sophisticated. They are learning that it is better not to have a friend in the 'big house,' to reach within yourself for power. Not only are we asking you to do this, but we are politically able to make you do it," says Michael Thompson, an unemployed black electrician who plans to picket every day of the Fest.

Members of the coalition are already meeting to plan future strategies in their plan to grab power from city hall. Chicago Black United Community and other groups have launched a massive voter registration drive that will send 600 workers into some of the city's 1,323 public housing buildings and into the streets to round up at least 100,000 new voters. Others are grooming blacks and white sympathizers

to run for at least 20 aldermanic seats next year. Their goal is to rid city government of black leaders who "take the role of being the buffer between those who oppress us rather than represent us," says Marian Stamps, head of the Chicago Housing Tenant Association.

Their highest priority is to find a viable black to run against Byrne and Daley in the mayoral election. A recent poll of 13,000 black Chicagoans on their choice of a black candidate registered a five-to-one margin in favor of Washington.

But the congressman is cautious. He says he is still canvassing the city to determine if the votes, cash and manpower are there to combat Byrne's estimated \$4 million war chest and Daley's well-known family name. "I look in my mirror and say, 'Mirror, mirror, on the wall, who's the fairest? And the mirror says, 'You are.' And I answer, 'Yeah, but this ain't no beauty contest,'" Washington says, chuckling.

But most black leaders are confident that a presentable black candidate could win. Stamps pronounced, "Jane Byrne has us so upset with her that we will go right down to the polls and vote her out and vote someone black in. We're going to tell her, 'Enough.'"

Laura Washington is a staff writer for The Chicago Reporter, a monthly publication focusing on racial issues in metropolitan Chicago.

Salvador

Continued from page 3

smell the coffee" before Central American terrorism spreads north.

But Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) mounted an attack against the certification that was laced with sarcasm. He questioned the improvement in human rights that drove political assassinations down to "only 300 a month" and quoted the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador as having said, "We're going to certify no

matter what."

But congressional opposition to Reagan's policy remains diffused. "The number of people in Congress who are willing to go on the record with a ringing endorsement of Reagan's policy is very small," commented Bill Woodward, legislative assistant to Rep. Gary Studds (D-Mass.). "Most people don't want to tarnish themselves with either extreme, and that has resulted in paralysis. A resolution in El Salvador cannot come about until people overcome that paralysis."

Studds introduced a resolution in the House to declare the certification null and void. Although the resolution collected 99 co-sponsors, there is little chance it will pass, and congressional support for negotiations has been muted.

But the hearings on certification showed members of Congress that they will be struggling with Central America for a long time to come—constituent mail or no. Lieutenant General Wallace Nutting from the Southern Command in Panama revealed that there are 119 members of the U.S. armed forces currently conducting military exercises in Honduras, on the conflicted frontier with Nicaragua, while Enders was forced to admit that "the judiciary system (in El Salvador) is nearly obliterated." There is little chance, he indicated, that the accused killers of the four U.S. religious women will come to trial in El Salvador within the next six months.

Dodd then put the problem in an economic context when he calculated that the U.S. has spent between \$700 and \$800 million in El Salvador over the past three years in economic and military aid.

The administration is running into overt liberal opposition and other frequent snags in its attempt to win additional aid. At the center of its efforts is the \$350 million Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), which Reagan announced with great fanfare earlier this year. After letting it languish for a few months the administration has made the CBI a new priority and hopes to have it on the president's desk for signing by Labor Day.

Although it will almost certainly pass in some form, the CBI has come under

attack from all quarters of Congress. Conservatives look at foreign aid as the obvious starting point for trimming the budget, while liberals object to the program as "a way to funnel money into El Salvador and Honduras." El Salvador was originally slated to receive \$128 million of the \$350 million total, but so far that amount has been reduced to \$100 million.

The CBI's free-trade measures were attacked strongly by the AFL-CIO. The governments of Costa Rica, Honduras and the Dominican Republic are still hoping that their teetering economies will stand to gain from the measure.

But no one in Washington is pretending that the CBI could save the economies of the Caribbean Basin from collapse anymore than they believe that continuing military aid to El Salvador could bring about a speedy victory over the guerrilla forces. Washington is hobbled by its own half-way solutions, and those are bound to get less coherent in coming months.

New Secretary of State George Shultz has made almost no comment on his plans for the Latin American bureau, but many predict it will be included in his general shake-up. He will find it already in disarray, since the administration's working friendship with the dictatorships of the Southern Cone, a major piece on its Latin chessboard, have effectively been removed from the game. The unlikely partnerships that appeared in the course of the South Atlantic crisis, such as Castro's offer of military aid to Galtieri, are unlikely to hold. But the administration must now face an unstable Argentine regime that is now unable—and unwilling—to lend significant support in Central America.

"The administration is asking Congress for as many chips as it can get hold of for its dealings in Central America," Woodward said. Between conservative budget trimming, liberal pressure on human rights, military stalemate and diplomatic fumbles, the administration will need all the chips it can get.

Anne Nelson writes regularly about Latin American affairs for several national publications.

In These Times

Special Summer Gift Sale!



Give one six month gift subscription and give another one free!

Take advantage of our SPECIAL SUMMER GIFT OFFER—Give one six month gift subscription for \$13 and give another six month gift for FREE! Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do all the rest—even send the gift cards!

In These Times
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622
☐ Bill me later.
☐ Payment enclosed.

My name _____
Address _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Send my first \$13 six month gift to:

My name _____
Address _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Send my FREE six month gift to:

My name _____
Address _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Sign gift cards _____

For faster service use our toll-free number: 800-247-2160
Iowa residents call: 1-800-362-2860

Guardian

You're not alone!

You're demonstrating against U.S. intervention in Central America. You're organizing tenants to fight gentrification. You're fighting for safe, legal abortion for all. You're teaching students how to think freely. You're marching for voting rights in the South. You're struggling to change the system in your own way.

You're not alone. All these battles are one. And only in one place do they all come together: the Guardian, North America's largest independent radical newsweekly. Twenty-four pages of non-sectarian coverage of the issues and the movement every week. Incisive analysis and unmatched international reportage: the information you need about your own fight and the common struggle.

Try a free four-week subscription to the Guardian, at absolutely no obligation. Simply cut out the coupon below and mail it in today.

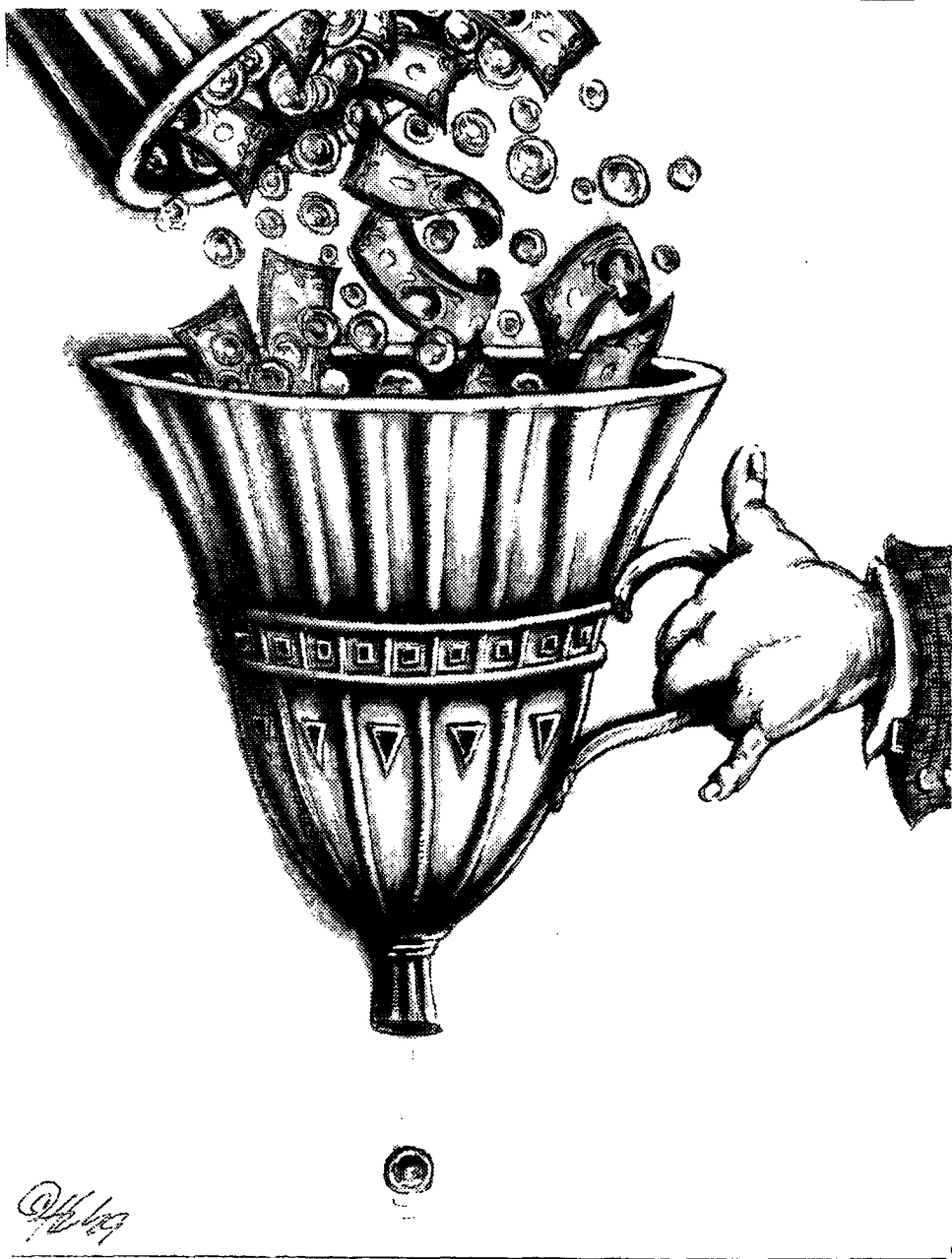
4 Send me four free issues of the Guardian, free at absolutely no obligation.

name _____
address _____
city _____
state _____ zip _____

Mail to: The Guardian, Dept. II
33 West 17th Street, New York, NY 10011

IN THE NATION

CALIFORNIA



New federalism sharpens class lines

By Thomas Brom

SAN FRANCISCO

IT TAKES A SHARP EYE TO SPOT Ronald Reagan's recession in the Bay Area. San Francisco is one of the few cities in the country with a budget surplus—\$75 million this year. An incredible 11 million square feet of downtown office space has gone up in the past two years. Union Square is a playground for the wealthy of five continents, where passersby wearing identical Cardin and Gucci clothes converse in German, Spanish or Japanese.

But Reaganomics—and the ideological plan called New Federalism—has left its mark. In the housing projects near the Hunter's Point shipyard, blacks and Vietnamese refugees feud over scarce apartment space. In Oakland, down the street from the new City Center office complex, the county is building a fortress-like jail with medieval window slits barely four inches wide.

Stark social contrasts within downtown districts are becoming commonplace, even in mid-size cities. Young professional couples rub shoulders with the immigrant busboy, the single-mother waitress, the unemployed machinist. The economic distance between them seems to grow each day.

Certainly the uneven impact of the recession is a big factor, as well as a broad shift in the economy away from basic manufacturing. But administration policies have played the critical role, fundamentally changing the social contract inherited from the New Deal.

Not only is Reagan's brand of New

Federalism cutting away welfare, job training for the unemployed, social services and regulation of industry, but by supporting states' rights rather than federal responsibilities, it is promoting regional disparities, which the federal government has been attempting to dissolve since the Civil Rights movement and Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. By encouraging differentials in wages and social services, it is creating internal movement in the economy, permitting companies to play one state off against another and forcing workers to migrate for jobs.

By simultaneously cutting back on overall social spending, the administration is reasserting the dominance of the wage system as an enforcer of social discipline. Most important of all, by shedding national responsibility for the disparities between rich and poor, it is fixing a two-class model in the U.S.—two kinds of health care, two kinds of education, two kinds of social services, tax treatment and job opportunities. The ability of government to cushion class conflict is quickly being eroded.

In short, Reagan is bringing the nation class war, wrapped in the American flag and dubbed the New Federalism.

Packaging reaction.

Perhaps the most amazing thing about the president's policy is that anyone takes the rhetoric seriously. In California, Reagan's ideological attacks on welfare are still remembered from his days as governor, and they had little to do with the Articles of Confederation. The "states' rights" veil now covering social spending and regulatory cutbacks is so thin that

when Congress passed the administration's 1983 budget, exasperated House Democratic leader Tip O'Neill charged "the president has a heart like a ton of ice."

Yet Reagan successfully used the basic New Federalism arguments to push his "block grant" program through Congress last fall, then confidently presented the complete package in his State of the Union message this January. According to the plan, the federal government would finance Medicaid while states take over Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and food stamps. The president also wanted to turn over 40 federal programs in education, community development, transportation and social services—including CETA and child nutrition.

Reagan promised the swap would be "financially equal": He would set up a \$28 billion "federal trust fund" during the eight years of declining federal support to the states. The deal would be complete by 1991, at which time the states could levy their own taxes if they wished to continue any programs.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) immediately released their own figures that showed the deal would really cost the states \$17 billion in the first year alone. The Congressional Budget Office projected a \$15 billion loss to the states.

The plan had enough anti-bureaucratic and pro-local control sentiment to attract attention. But the reaction from governors, county supervisors and mayors was swift and overwhelmingly negative.

No one wanted responsibility for administering AFDC, the largest single welfare program with 1982 expenditures of \$8.1 billion. State and local government also didn't want to be blamed for the massive cuts in social spending already underway, including \$1 billion in AFDC, \$1 billion in Medicaid and \$2.1 billion in food stamps. The fiscal 1983 budget includes \$12 billion more in cuts, ranging from \$3.6 billion in Medicare to \$500 million in AFDC and \$900 in food stamps.

Despite the early resistance, Reagan persevered. Administration strategists successfully divided the opposition, splitting off mayors as adamantly opposed to the plan, but targeting governors and state legislators. County officials fell somewhere in between—opposed in urban areas, tending toward support in the suburbs and rural counties. The lure of New Federalism at the state level was power, and at the county level a presidential sanction to cut troublesome social spending like AFDC.

In July, Reagan appeared before the National Association of Counties (NACo) with a modified plan that had been worked out in advance with the state lobbies. The original \$50 billion swap was reduced to \$39 billion over the eight years. Reagan agreed to keep the \$11 billion food stamp program and also reduce the number of transferred programs from 40 to 35.

But the rhetoric stayed the same: "The extent of the problems we face today is in direct proportion to the extent to which we have allowed the federal government to mushroom out of control," Reagan said.

The NACo meeting nearly blew up in Reagan's face. Sen. Dave Durenburger (R-Minn.), who is chairing the Senate subcommittee on New Federalism, called the Reagan prepared speech "baloney" and "about the thinnest dodge I've ever seen." The president arrived thinking his revised package would receive NACo endorsement, but a floor fight convinced pro-Reagan officials to withdraw the resolution before a vote.

The president will try again before the annual meeting of the National Governors' Association August 8 in Oklahoma

City, although the governors too are worried about being stuck with programs and no way to fund them. The major unresolved issues with NGA include treatment for the more than four million "medically needy" who would be cut off Medicaid, the federal government's proposed level of food stamp payments and creation of a supplemental trust fund for states that are in especially bad financial shape.

Whether or not a deal can be cut with state officials, the administration is pushing ahead with New Federalism in other areas. The president, for instance, issued an executive order on July 14 requiring the federal government to defer to the states in reviewing federal financial assistance and development programs. The procedural change will greatly increase the role of local government and diminish the ability of the federal government to set national priorities.

A week later, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Anne Gorsuch

Continued on page 22

Wage fights pay off

Despite the huge budget cutbacks in the state, the people who are organized in California—aside from teachers—have managed to hold their own. Public employees represented by AFSCME, SEIU, transit, fire and police unions have successfully fought off contract takebacks and the "contracting out" ploy in most Northern California cities.

But lay-offs have taken a psychological toll on the service unions. "This is not a time to be pushing the employers hard," says Helian Dowden, SEIU lobbyist in Sacramento. "We just lost 400-500 jobs in Santa Clara County. There's an attitude in many locals of 'Let's stay in the fox-hole until the shooting's over.'"

AFSCME estimates its national public sector job loss at 400,000. But even in the midst of Prop 13 and Reagan cutbacks, California locals have pioneered the fight for "comparable worth"—equal pay for jobs of comparable skill. The biggest victory so far came in San Jose last July, when AFSCME local 101 ratified a two-year contract calling for \$1.5 million toward equalizing pay between men and women employees.

Since then, comparable-worth fights have been waged successfully in Los Angeles, where 4,000 AFSCME city clericals won a 14 percent wage increase, and in Sacramento, where an SEIU local has reached agreement on job equivalencies prior to contract talks.

"In the past we used the enforcement procedures of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission," says Judy Baston, AFSCME public affairs coordinator in California. "The Reagan administration is decimating the EEOC, however, so we'll have to achieve everything at the bargaining table. It's always a very political process anyway."

AFSCME discovered that the private sector is putting pressure on public employers to fight comparable worth on ideological grounds. "The employers are always saying they can't afford to make these changes," says Mike Ferrero, president of AFSCME 101. "Now they see that comparable worth contracts represent a real crack in the marketplace labor system."

AFSCME and SEIU organizers say comparable worth campaigns are much more difficult in a recession, since wages would literally be taken from men to recompense women unless the union also wins a general wage increase. But with women representing 80 percent of clericals and 70 percent of school teachers, the issue won't be abandoned in California.

—Thomas Brom

PAY EQUITY

More Than a Slogan at AFSCME

"When the City of San Jose, California, refused to negotiate implementation of a pay equity study that had been done at AFSCME's request, our local union became the first to strike over the issue of pay equity. In addition to a general wage increase, the contract settlement provides for substantial increases for numerous job categories traditionally held by female workers.

"There was only one issue involved, and that was fairness. My own case is an example. As a Librarian 2, my job requires skills, experience and responsibility comparable to those required for a Planner 2. That's a male-dominated job classification. But we were making \$5,200 a year less—a 27% difference. The unfairness is obvious.

"Now, with the settlement, we'll recover 15% of that. We still have a way to go, but we've made that important and historic first step. I am proud that AFSCME is leading the way on pay equity."



Linda Dydo, member of AFSCME Local 101, and Librarian for the city of San Jose, burns her termination notice during a strike rally.



AFSCME®
in the public service

American Federation of State, County and
Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

Gerald W. McEntee,
International President

William Lucy,
International Secretary-Treasurer

OSHA

Business applauds proposal

By Charles Piller

SAN FRANCISCO

LABOR AND INDUSTRY ARE slugging it out once again over health regulations for American workers, but this time industry may have the federal referee in its corner. On July 31, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) concluded public hearings on its newly proposed "Hazard Communication Standard" (also known as the "workers' right-to-know" or "labeling" standard). Industry supports the intent and most provisions of the proposal, which the AFL-CIO has billed "a legal license for industry's continued 'right-to-conceal' from workers and their representatives the identities of hazards of workplace chemicals."

The proposed standard is a revision of the original labeling standard put forth in the waning days of the Carter administration by then OSHA administrator Eula Bingham. Bingham's proposal—by far the more stringent and extensive of the two—was the product of several years' work by the agency and a decade of prodding by labor groups.

In one of his first acts as labor secretary, Raymond Donovan unilaterally withdrew the proposal. The action precipitated much publicity not only because of its policy impact, but also because it immediately followed a request to rescind the rule from the Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA). It would only cost industry money, CMA argued, without improving worker health and safety conditions.

For years the issue of workers' right-to-know has been a major element of union efforts to prevent dangerous exposures to chemical hazards in the workplace. The push for a tough labeling standard has been the cornerstone of the strategy.

Current OSHA standards set exposure limits for approximately 450 substances, but labeling requirements cover only a few of them. Even more significantly, of the 65,000 trade name products recently surveyed by the National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), about half contained chemicals regulated by OSHA and more than one-third were considered trade secrets. These products—mostly chemical compounds—represent a vast source of potentially hazardous substances that are in most cases identifiable only by company code name.

A key shift from the Bingham proposal is a new labeling emphasis on "warnings" rather than "identities" of chemicals. Identities of hazardous chemicals would be found only on material safety data sheets (MSDSs) and chemical lists in the employer's possession. With this change OSHA has adopted the perspective held by most manufacturers—that an alert alone is sufficient to safeguard workers' health.

"We support a rule that vests the judgment with the employer," says Dow Chemical attorney Bill Leathers. "The employer is in the best position to judge when warnings and precautions alone, or these combined with chemical identities, are appropriate."

For its part, labor views this as a throw-back to the days when workers had to rely solely on their employers' benevolent paternalism. Unions are arguing that without immediate access to specific chemical identities, it becomes difficult or impossible for workers to monitor industry information for accuracy and comprehensiveness.

The proposed standard sets no criteria for hazard determination, except for physical hazards such as flammability. Toxicity evaluation is left up to the man-

ufacturer—based on data that is "scientifically well-established." A list of suggested guidelines and resources is supplied by OSHA, but employers bear no obligation to use any of them. Individual manufacturers would determine whether a given substance is hazardous (and, consequently, covered by the standard) on the basis of their own criteria and procedures.

"Such open-ended performance requirements render the standard largely unenforceable," says AFL-CIO industrial hygienist Peg Seminario.

The extremely broad trade secret exemptions in the proposal might be de-

reduction in coverage compared to the Bingham plan—leaving out the 60 million American workers in transportation, construction, agriculture and other sectors. Many of these industries use more potentially toxic substances than does manufacturing, according to NIOSH, which sharply criticized the proposal.

Teamster attorney Warren Reaume, whose union represents hundreds of thousands of workers in non-manufacturing industries, feels coverage of manufacturing alone is far from adequate. "What about the workers who transport (chemicals)? Or those who off-load, store, reload and sometimes repackage



scribed as a loophole that threatens to swallow the law itself. "Trade secret" is defined by OSHA as "essentially anything that a business keeps secret, from its competitors or the public, provided it is minimally novel and commercially valuable."

Manufacturers could claim a chemical identity to be a trade secret in tens of thousands of cases, given the diversity and novelty that characterizes the chemical manufacturing industries. The only exceptions to the exemption are carcinogens, mutagens, teratogens or chemicals that cause "significant irreversible damage to human organs or body systems for which there is a need to know the precise chemical name."

If approved, individual manufacturers would decide whether a substance is hazardous.

But these substances are not ignored. The proposal increases the cut-off point for labeling all component parts of mixtures to 1 percent. Bingham had proposed a 0.1 percent cut-off for carcinogens. Many substances contain carcinogenic components or contaminants, such as benzidine dyes, that are hazardous at far below the 1 percent level.

The scope of the new proposal is strictly limited to manufacturing industries—a

these chemicals in the course of the distribution process?" he asks.

The proposal restricts access to MSDSs and other chemical hazard information to current employees. Unions or other representatives are excluded from access unless they are officially designated in writing by the employee. Anonymity for workers who fear employer reprisals for seeking such information would, therefore, be impossible. Large-scale union research efforts would be gravely inhibited.

Turning the tables.

OSHA is ostensibly one federal agency to turn the tables on Reagan's "new federalism." The proposed standard is intended to preempt state and local right-to-know laws when they "constitute an impermissible burden on interstate commerce...[or] inescapably burden or conflict with the OSHA standard."

"Standard Oil of California (SOCAL) is in favor of a federal standard," says Stan Dryden, industrial hygiene manager for SOCAL. "The local and state standards differ so much, they cause us a lot of grief. It takes a lot of effort to follow and respond to developments on the state and local levels."

According to Nancy Tibona of E.I. DuPont de Nemours, "DuPont has always supported a comprehensive, cost-effective plan. We think implementation benefits from a nationwide OSHA standard."

At issue are six state and several municipal laws—all more stringent than the proposed standard. Some critics say that OSHA's true intention in submitting the proposal (and the reason behind much of the industry support) is to use it as a means to abrogate these local standards.

It is questionable whether OSHA is empowered to perform such preemptions. Congress severely limited OSHA's

preemption powers when the agency was created and, according to California DIR legal analysis, such limits have been upheld in court challenges.

Even the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), in its review of the proposal, rejects OSHA's position, deeming this "an inappropriate area for the federal government to preclude states and localities from exercising their police powers, especially under the Reagan administration's policies of decentralization and renewed federalism."

But preemption could take place on another level: Many states that have their own health and safety programs and right-to-know laws are substantially funded by OSHA. In an April 22 memo to the state programs, OSHA head Thorne Auchter threatened funding cuts for the development of state standards that overlap or differ with federal equivalents. The memo also stated OSHA may revise its regulations "to require state adoption of standards identical to the federal within one month of federal

promulgation."

The key to understanding the proposal may be succinctly contained in a section entitled "cost comparison." In it, OSHA shows that it saves employers 78 percent in start-up expenses and 82 percent in yearly maintenance expenses compared to the Bingham effort.

A recent Supreme Court decision prohibited cost-benefit analysis in the development of such standards. Instead, OSHA talks in terms of "cost-effectiveness," saying that its current proposal saves money due to reduced paperwork, and the proposed standard's "performance orientation," which allows employers "to take advantage of a wide variety of compliance approaches tailored to their particular industries and work environments." But a closer look shows that the major savings over the old plan have more to do with the massive cuts in requirements and scope of coverage.

Still uncertain is the role of the OMB in the form of the final standard. Due to a Reagan executive order, OSHA standards undergo "regulatory impact analysis." The OMB may veto any standard it determines to have costs that outweigh benefits. This veto criterion is apparently in conflict with the Supreme Court ruling on the matter, but is as yet untested in the courts.

Whether or not the OMB will let this one through (even in a mild form) "depends on the political climate after the elections this fall," says Seminario. "If Reagan feels vindicated, that may be a green light for the OMB to continue implementing what they view as a mandate for deregulation."

But if the standard is finally issued, court challenges—from labor or industry—are likely.

Charles Piller is assistant managing editor of Synapse, a University of California health sciences publication.

IN THE WORLD



LEBANON

The old, the new and the outsiders

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

JUST A FEW MORE BOMBINGS, with perhaps a massacre or two, and everything will be all right. Lebanon will be awarded its consolation prize: a "strong state." To many American people in the U.S.—those who view Lebanon as nothing but a hopeless, self-destructive mess—this may sound like more than the place deserves. A happy ending, thanks to the Israeli invasion.

Just how happy this ending is can be appreciated only in relation to the plot leading up to it. And its political implications do not concern the Middle East alone.

Lebanon, with all its ethnic and religious variety, was both unique and a microcosm. But as the country falls apart, it is being said that so many different groups could not possibly live together. If this is so, what does it mean for many other countries—especially the U.S.?

The fundamental conflict in Lebanon was between two contrasting principles of social organization. One was the traditional tribal patriarchy, with the paternalistic chieftains of the country's countless religious communities exercising authority over their flocks and bargaining at the top between leaders. The other was the modern model of a secular state with political parties based on ideas and programs theoretically adapted to all citizens without distinction. The Lebanese state created under French influence was a compromise between the two tendencies.

In the particular Lebanese contest—a

banking and commercial state with a highly developed services sector coexisting with feudal landholding arrangements—the "right" is essentially the expression of the traditional tribal patriarchy, and the "left" is essentially the expression of the modernist tendency toward citizenship based on equal rights.

Thus Brahini Koneilat, leader of the independent Nasserist component (the Mourabitoun) of the Lebanese National Forces—that is, the left—explained recently that "we want a party built on common convictions, sovereignty, dignity, a true justice—a modern developed country that is not based on a pact between religious communities."

Lebanon's basic problem was that the 1942 founding pact assumed a permanent balance of power between the various communities as the basis for what was in other respects a modern secular state. This contradictory setup could not last forever, if only for demographic reasons: The Moslem populations were growing faster than the Christian ones. The ethnic-religious balance was inherently unstable.

There were three possible ways to solve this problem.

The first would have been to adjust the balance to give more weight to the underrepresented Sunni and Shi'ite Moslem groups, while staying within the logic of patriarchal communities. But growing secularization was undermining the Moslem patriarchs' authority.

The second was for the dominant minority to reimpose its ebbing authority by force—the solution of the rightist Maronite Christian leaders.

The third was to complete the secularization of the Lebanese state—the solu-

tion sought by the Lebanese left.

Instead, outside interference has made any solution impossible and Lebanon has been torn to shreds.

Disintegration.

Certainly the mass arrival of the Palestinians, fleeing from Jordan after the 1970 "black September" massacre of their forces by King Hussein's army, hastened the disintegration of Lebanon. This was not at all their intention. Uprooted and almost necessarily secular, the Palestinians threw their weight in on the side of the rather mild Lebanese left. This drove the Maronite far right into a military alliance with Israel.

By political conviction, the Palestinians meant to support the Lebanese left's aspirations for a modern state of equal citizens. But in practice, by forming their own armed community, the Palestinian resistance contributed to the country's fragmentation into warring armed communities.

At this game, neither the Palestinians nor the left held the winning cards—despite a near victory in the 1976 civil war and the triumphant guerrilla rhetoric of the period. On the verge of defeat, the Maronite Christian right appealed to its Syrian enemy, which obliged by sending in its occupation troops with the blessings of other Arab states. That was the beginning of the partition of Lebanon.

Partitioning Lebanon is a secret project of Israeli leaders going back nearly 30 years. "This is the time, [David] Ben-Gurion [former Israeli prime minister] said, to push Lebanon, that is, the Maronites in that country, to proclaim a Christian state," Israeli prime minister Moshe Sharett recorded in his diary on

Feb. 27, 1954. "I said this was nonsense." But Ben-Gurion insisted. "The money must be found, if not in the Treasury then at the Jewish Agency!"

The next day, Ben-Gurion wrote a letter to Sharett emphasizing that the creation of a Christian Lebanon "is the central duty, or at least one of the central duties, of our foreign policy."

"In normal times this would be almost impossible," he conceded. "But in times of confusion, or revolution or civil war, things take on another aspect."

Sharett answered with a letter outlining his own objections. It might be all very well, he said, to back an existing Maronite separatist movement, but no such movement existed—and it was very risky for Israel to attempt to create one from the outside. Sharett doubted that it would be possible to enlist Maronites in a project so obviously contrary to their own interest. A Maronite state would necessarily be smaller than Lebanon and would lose its "economic *raison d'être*" as bridge between the Arab world and the West.

Sharett reminded Ben-Gurion that the great majority of Maronite Christians in Lebanon "has for years supported pragmatic political leaders who long ago abandoned the dream of a Christian Lebanon and have staked everything on Christian-Moslem cooperation." He did not see how they could be persuaded to switch to a policy that would inevitably produce "disintegration leading to the end of Lebanon" and "Lebanon's economic suicide."

Ben-Gurion apparently had more imagination. The following year he had persuaded Moshe Dayan, who was enthusiastic. Sharett wrote in his diary on May

16, 1955, "According to Dayan, the only thing that's necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to proclaim himself the savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory, and will create a Christian regime that will ally with Israel. The territory south of the Litani river will be totally annexed to Israel."

A few days later, Sharett noted ruefully that the Israeli chief of staff supported "a plan to hire a Lebanese officer who will agree to serve as a puppet so that the Israeli army may appear to be responding to his appeal to liberate Lebanon from its Moslem oppressors. This will of course be a crazy adventure." All this,

The real conflict is not between Arabs and Jews but between political systems.

by the way, was years before the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was driven into Lebanon.

Although Israel is a functioning democracy, its leaders did not reveal these plans to the population for a democratic vote or even a debate, and if the liberal Sharett had not kept his diary, there would be no public evidence today. After Sharett, no other inside witness has been so communicative.

Ben-Gurion's plan to partition Lebanon was shelved, at least temporarily, apparently in favor of the Sinai-Suez operation in 1956. This involved a close alliance with France, Lebanon's traditional protector. But the subsequent souring of Franco-Israeli relations removed that restraint.

A change of plans.

Of course, not everything has gone as Dayan proposed in 1955. A Lebanese major has indeed been purchased, but he is not the potential leader of the Maronite rump state; the Phalange militia chieftain Bashir Gemayel is slated for that prize. Major Saad Haddad is only the nominal commander of the zone of southern Lebanese territory south of the Litani River that Dayan suggested Israel should keep for itself. (This was not Dayan's idea; earlier Zionists placed Israel's northern border on the Litani River.)

After the June 6 Israeli invasion, Israeli defense minister Ariel Sharon "gave" the medieval Crusaders' castle of Beaufort to Major Haddad and set him up in the Sidon city hall, supposedly in charge of administering southern Lebanon. Major Haddad, although supposedly an ardent Maronite Christian, has opposed attempts by the Maronite Phalange to move into his territory. He has questioned in advance the legitimacy of the expected presidency of Bashir Gemayel and has said he would not turn over his territory to any central Lebanese government until it signed not only a peace treaty but also a "defense pact" with Israel.

This looks like a search for pretexts to keep the territory south of the Litani cut off from the rest.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon was conveniently timed to coincide with the expiration of President Elias Sarkis' six-year term and the election of a new president. On July 24, Bashir Gemayel announced his candidacy for the presidency, which is supposed to be filled by the parliament by next September 23.

Gemayel has promised to provide Lebanon, or what's left of it, with the blessings of a "strong state." His credentials are impressive.

His 82-year-old father, Pierre Gemayel, created the Phalange in 1936 after an inspiring trip to Germany and Italy, where he admired Nazi and Fascist paramilitary youth organizations and thought Lebanon should have one as well. But the

Phalange did not amount to much until it got the benefit of Israeli military training and arms in the '70s. The Phalange's 22,000-man militia, commanded by 34-year-old Bashir Gemayel, is now heavily dependent on Israel militarily. But it has developed its own way of making its living in the Maronite enclave called "Free Lebanon."

As Robert Friedman reported in the June 19 issue of *The Nation*, "Bashir Gemayel's victorious militias, subsequently consolidated as the Lebanese Forces, today control the bulk of Free Lebanon's protection rackets and vice trade, parceling out a percentage of the profits to the smaller Christian militias. Their income comes from the estimated \$1 billion to \$3 billion a year hashish trade, 'taxes' on most of the goods coming in or going out of Free Lebanon's seven ports and 'income taxes' levied on the population—up to 20 percent in the case of big businessmen."

Since the civil war began in 1975, hashish cultivation has extended from 10 percent to 80 percent of the Bekaa Valley, driving out food crops. In 1978, Lebanon also took on heroin transformation for the first time, processing opium from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. The drug trade enriches the Maronite fascist militia, greases the arms trade and ties Lebanon in with the Sicilian mafia.

While it has been widely noted that certain West German members of leftist terrorist groups went to Palestinian guerrilla camps for training in the '70s, what has been less publicized is that neo-Nazis from West Germany as well as the rest of Europe and the Americas streamed to Lebanon in this period for mercenary service, training or weapons from the rightist militia. Israel has thus aided European neo-Nazis by way of the Phalange, strange as it seems.

But what is probably more significant is the degeneration of the patriarchal ethnic-religious community into outright gangsterism. This is a social model applicable in many parts of the world other than Lebanon, and indeed American foreign policy tends with disturbing regularity to encourage its development everywhere.

The Phalange has eliminated its right-wing rivals gangland style. In July 1978, the Phalange stormed the mountaintop stronghold of former president Sulieman Franjeh and murdered his oldest son Tony after forcing him to watch the torture and murder of his wife and two-year-old daughter. The elder Franjeh took refuge in Tripoli (the one in Lebanon) to continue the dope trade under Syrian protection. Two years later, Bashir Gemayel led an attack on the East Beirut headquarters of the "Tiger" mercenary militia of former president Camille Chamoun, the old crook who called in the U.S. Marines in 1958. Again, ghastly atrocities were committed.

Other Lebanese parties refuse to accept election of a president under Israeli occupation. The election of Bashir Gemayel, if it happens, will certainly not be recognized as legitimate by most Lebanese. This will facilitate Syrian annexation of the Northeast and Israeli annexation of the South, leaving Bashir to lord it over the Maronite enclave.

Israel has been trying to help the Phalange enlarge its enclave to include the Shouf mountain stronghold of the Druze community, whose leader Walid Joumblatt is also the leader of the Lebanese left and its main party, the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP). Since there have never been any Palestinians in the Shouf, there was at first considerable surprise and puzzlement at seeing the Israeli army occupy the region.

The purpose became clear as Phalange troops began moving in on the heels of the Israelis, setting up Phalange party headquarters, wrecking PSP headquarters and checking identities of the local people against lists of leftist political opponents. This has created smoldering resentment among the Druze, whose area could never have been penetrated by the Phalange without the might of the Israeli military machine to pave its way.

This situation is causing a crisis in the Socialist International (SI), because the

Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party is affiliated to the SI but is getting no brotherly help from the Israeli Labor Party, a longstanding SI member. Swiss Socialist Jean Ziegler has expressed his outrage that "a powerful member party has given its public blessing to the massacre of militants of another member party. Progressive Socialist Party offices are systematically devastated in each of the cities and towns occupied by Israeli soldiers."

Ziegler called for expulsion of the Israeli Labor Party from the Socialist International. He complained that the Israeli Labor Party consistently opposed progressive SI policy in the Third World. "Everyone knows about the intimate economic, military and police collaboration between Israel and South Africa, and the considerable harm done by that collaboration to SI efforts to take root in Africa," Ziegler noted recently. "What is less widely known is the precious, effective, constant aid provided by different Israeli governments, Mapai as well as Likud, to the tyrannies in Central America."

Who's manipulating whom?

To much of the world, the explanation is simple: Israeli policy is simply an extension of American imperialism. All that Israel does is dependent on American aid and weapons. Is Israel manipulating the

ish, Maronite or Orthodox or Greek Catholic, free to be Druze, Moslem—Sunni or Shi'ite, free to be Kurdish, Iraqi, Iranian, Syrian or Egyptian. Free to be left or right, to be for Camp David or against Camp David.

"People were well-informed, intelligent and tolerant in spite of the whole regional context, that is, the dictatorships, the tribalisms, the fanaticisms, in spite of Begin and Khomeini and the corrupting flow of petrodollars. Beirut, notably on its West side, had 120 publishing houses serving the cultural life of the Arab world, dozens of dailies and weeklies, four great universities. Beirut was also where Americans, Europeans, Russians and Chinese could freely mingle with each other and with Arabs, Kurds, Iranians..."

"Now East Beirut will be able to become the business capital of a rump state in which a few local sectarian chieftains will be able to proclaim the joy of the Lebanese at living 'in peace' at last."

Bashir Gemayel has promised a "clean and solid press" as part of his "strong state."

What is being established is a world of violence and mutual contempt. Begin and Sharon's deep contempt for the Lebanese people, the Maronite Christians in particular, shows through in their selection of a brutal thug like Bashir Gemayel to be



U.S. or vice versa? Both and neither; rather, the dynamic of the relationship seems to be bringing out the worst in both partners.

The worst, in this case, is full abandonment of any pretense to respect universal human values. United Nations ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has only contempt for such abstractions. What is "concrete" is the double standard of patriarchal tribalism: one standard for "us" and another standard for "them." Ethnic-religious communities can be congenial to business and to racketeering, because they provide a simple division between "us"—the region of loyalties and shared benefits—and "them," those who can be exploited without conscience. When third world peoples are looking for their founding fathers, they should be given godfathers instead.

"Beirut will pay for being the capital of the Arab world in search of its identity and its emancipation," Lebanese writer Michel Ishak lamented recently. "It was the Third World, but—what insolence!—prosperous and free. People were free to think, to write, to speak. To be revolutionary or conservative. Free to be Jew-

their "savior." They probably figure that's what the Lebanese deserve.

But there is also contempt of the same kind, although necessarily more hidden, in the Reagan administration's indulgence for Begin and Sharon. The worse the Israeli leaders are, the more dependent they are on the U.S. and the easier it is for U.S. leaders to monopolize all bargaining. American industrialists 60 years ago encouraged the Sicilian Mafia to preserve the Italian immigrant population from the likes of Sacco and Vanzetti. One can always make a deal with the worst "godfather."

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon is making these things much clearer than they were before. The real conflict is not between Arabs and Jews, but between a political system that forcibly divides people along such lines and one that does not. The Lebanese Nasserist leader Brahim Koneilat, interviewed in besieged Beirut, pointed to the peace demonstrations in Israel as "proof that the struggle is not religious. Jewish people in occupied Palestine have shown solidarity with us, while the Arab world is silent... Think about it!"

By Ken Meter

MINNEAPOLIS

Bill Harjes' barn is wide and brightly lit. The speckled coat of paint is the original—only seven seasons of flies have settled on it. While polka music flows from a small radio hung from the ceiling, a surge pump gasps punctually.

Crouching near a cow, his gentle, forceful hands soothing the final pint of milk out of an udder, Bill shouts the name of the seventh cow down on the right. His teenage helper is already poised with a warm cloth, cleaning the cow's udder.

Between hurried massages, Bill and I talk.

"If I had my way," he begins, "I'd milk about half this many. About 25. That gives you more time for the field-work and some time with the family. But I need to milk 50 to pay for this place. I'm paying \$40 a day to the bank just for interest."

Fifty cows is 50 udders filling up with 26 pounds of milk, twice a day. Always hay to feed, always silage, always grain, always haylage. Two or three hours in the field to fix a fence or grind the grain. Coax the cows inside, sort them by name to their proper stall. Five-thirty in the morning until nine at night, maybe eleven. Maybe two-thirty at harvest. On Sunday, the chores are done before church.

Bill has been luckier than some farmers. He built in 1973, a good year for prices and the first year of the inflationary spurt. Neighbors who have bought in the last two years now carry interest bills of \$290 every day.

Bill captures the erosion of his economy with concise stories. He likes to tell about how he recently stopped a salesman cold—the one who brought over the new Bobcat. That's a small, versatile vehicle Bill needs to plow manure off his cement feeding platform, to haul hay bales, to carry fence posts.

"I told the guy to look behind him. He turned around, and I said, 'See that house over there? I had it built 15 years ago. That house cost the same then as this little Bobcat does now.'"

A tractor that cost \$13,000 in 1973 costs \$62,000 today. Yet the price of corn—most farmers' basic source of money—has continued to hover around \$2.25 a bushel.



The price Bill gets for his milk has been protected by price supports, so it has risen in the same period from \$5.00 per hundred pounds to \$13.50. But it is still limited to 75 percent of what it costs to produce.

Everyone's feeling the pinch of the recession, but farmers are being squeezed especially hard. The total net farm income in the U.S. was \$14 billion in 1981, a drastic drop from \$36 billion two years earlier, and only \$5 billion above the 1919 level, without accounting for the decline of the dollar's value. For all of the "advance" in productivity and technology, hardly any more money was flowing into rural communities. For the first time ever, over half of a Minnesota farm family's income was coming from off-farm sources.

Bill breaks into another story, this time one about the local bank.

Angry Midwestern farmers say that after a hard day's work, the banker takes it all.

"When I banked there, only people worked there. You were bank closest to you—like a creamery. That's what kept them strong. People had to go because they couldn't afford to go anywhere."

Several years ago, Bill needed to keep his farm operating. He became bigger than the local bank could afford. So he started looking for a bank farther away. He discovered he works better with a new bank, which is owned by people from the Twin Cities, whom he has never met. "I just wonder what's behind him," he confides.

One evening a group of neighbors gathered at 9:00 p.m., after milking was done. As surely as winter chills the spine, the talk turns to credit, the nearest neighbor. "He bought this month. Twenty years ago, he would have gone to his neighbor for a loan like that, not to a bank."

In an earlier time, farmers had choices—to borrow from a neighbor, to take out a bank loan, or to rely on themselves. During the depression when many rural banks closed and mortgages were foreclosed, the farm community pulled into itself. "Our folks never borrowed," says Gordy Bates. "It was a sin."

Art Berger, now one of the off local farmers, adds, "You don't borrow money from a bank."

Kenny Narr responds, "You don't borrow money from a neighbor, you, Art, on a contract for milk."

"Yes. The bank wouldn't give you no money. They were afraid they wouldn't make a go of it."

Milking

Photographer: Lionel Delevingne

expanded, the need for credit jumped. Suddenly a farmer needed more credit than a neighbor could afford to loan. As neighbors competed with each other, loans became another way to lose a friend. So the only place to get money was to go to a credit institution.

Kenny Narr remembers the time when the businesspeople on Main Street had an easier time borrowing than farmers. "It was no trouble for the grocery store. People still had to eat. Now it would probably be reversed. They'd maybe loan to a farmer because his land is valued artificially high."

The financial clout farmers have mustered is based on false values. The price of land—now well above \$2,000 per acre in this county—is jacked up above what the land can produce. It's an inflated asset that lets them borrow at inflated rates, buy high-priced equipment, grow crops priced at half what it costs to grow them. And credit is available only to the well-established.

As a result, the credit system cannot sustain itself. Only a few can join. New farmers can't borrow local money because they need more than a local bank can afford to offer. Federal money—through channels like the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA)—is the only credit source for a new farm. This year that source is drying up, too.

A young man has been sitting silently in the corner of the room. I turn to him and ask if it's different to work with a locally owned bank than one far away. Denny Tuchenhagen, still considered a new farmer even after six years in the neighborhood, breaks the silence.

"I'll tell you the difference," he answers. "To get a loan from the FmHA you have to be turned down by two banks. I can go to Green Isle and get turned down in five minutes."

The farmers roar with laughter, but there is an icy chill in the room—a shudder for the future.

"How does it feel to be so far in debt?" I then ask.

Kenny begins, "You get so damn depressed. The thing is you just learn to accept it."

Then again, there were breakthroughs. Bankers who would take the risk would follow their intuition.

Years ago, Bill says, Clifford Boerner went to the bank in nearby Arlington. He wanted money for three horses, a two-row cultivator and a saw-tooth plow, and they wouldn't give it to him.

"He came down to James F. Mullen (at the Green Isle bank)," he explains. "That's when bank notes came in a block, just like check blanks. Mullen listened to Boerner's story—he'd never met him before. Then he turned the note block around and said, 'Sign here.' Boerner still banks there today."

At that time, to be successful bankers had to blend their own financial goals with the needs of the rural community. The community had the funds to work around a narrow-minded banker.

But those days did not last. As machinery got bigger and more chemicals were introduced as farms

Photographer: Ron Thums



Denny Tuchenhagen breaks in, "I finally got a chance to get started. Now, I get to thinking, what if I can't make it? I'm only 32 years old. I'd just as soon keep paying as long as I can because I don't know what else I'd do if I can't farm."

Kenny says he doesn't mind the debt. But he's tired of working so hard, just to pay off high interest. "With the economy the way it has been from the '50s on down, we've learned to accept that we're part of big business, because really now, agriculture is part of big business. We're no different than Northern States Power [the local utility] or anybody else, to a point. If you want to get that big in farming, debt is a part of it. What angers me is that we're being exploited. This 20 percent interest—that's what burns me."

With such high interest rates, farmers are losing money producing new wealth. Of the 50 cows in Bill's herd, perhaps five cover the cost of running the farm. The rest are fed and milked just to pay back the bank.

Kenny continues, "If we're gonna subsidize the economy with our food...We just can't do it!"

Gordy says, "Agriculture puts more people to work than all the other segments of industry combined. That's a fact. You compare this with the subsidies given to other segments of the economy—we're being cheated, drastically. Yet this is new wealth that's being generated, and this is what's keeping the country intact."

"We have every right to demand a support price of parity. They subsidize Chrysler because that keeps jobs and puts money into the federal govern-

ment. But the percentage of increase that's coming in is peanuts compared to the new wealth from the farms and agriculture-related industries."

Bill adds, "That's where you know that they've got us again, because we're in a minority."

Kenny corrects him. "We're in a majority here. We own all the food."

Bill responds, "One dollar generated here produces seven times over. As an example, I was contemplating buying a feed mill. I was getting sick and tired. I just got so many hours in the day when the schedule is not my own to begin with, and then I've got to work around theirs (the feed store). Just when I'm using it, that's when they want it back. So I went up to the banker and I said, 'What does it look like for December 26, for rewriting the loan?' and he told me what the interest was. Had it been a sensible rate of interest, I would have bought that food mill and somebody else would have had a job, and someone else would have had a commission."

When farmers are struggling, others are hurt as well. Manufacturing and sales jobs are lost. High interest rates divert capital away from local businesses and local workers. No longer does money cycle in and out of the community. It simply flows out—to bankers and investors.

By dutifully meeting their mortgage payments, these farmers are draining the financial blood out of their own community.

Ken Meter writes about farm issues for several Midwestern publications.

EDITORIAL

Begin is achieving a Pyrrhic victory

More than four years ago (May 17, 1978) we wrote that Menachem Begin's aggressive expansionism was pointing Israel "toward a ruinous economy and a garrison state destructive of its democratic institutions and of its aspirations to build a rich and thriving Jewish national culture. It risks Israel's isolation from many of its allies and the squandering of support from the American people."

Our remarks were not directed at Israel, but at Americans, Jews and non-Jews alike, who desired to see Israel survive and live in peace and equality with its neighbors. But, as is so often true in such cases, our criticism of Israeli government policy was perceived then, as it still is by some of our readers, as an attack on the State of Israel, and even as anti-Semitism.

Nothing could be further from the truth. We have two concerns. First, that the attitudes and policies of the Begin regime toward the Palestinians are strik-

*In the end,
security does
not come out
of the barrel
of a gun.*

ingly similar to the attitudes and policies of the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations toward the Vietnamese, and increasingly reminiscent of Nazi Germany's attitudes and policies toward Jews. Second, for the survival of the Israeli people and the realization of Israel's aspiration to be a democratic society living in peace with its neighbors and the world.

During the Vietnamese war, American hawks advocated bombing North Vietnam "back into the Stone Age," and the American army pursued a policy of annihilation of entire villages suspected of harboring Viet Cong fighters on the theory that the enemy was everywhere. In the end, of course, this policy failed because it only reinforced popular support for the Viet Cong and increased hatred of the Americans and a determination on the part of the Vietnamese to survive and prevail.

Begin and Ariel Sharon, in their orgy of destruction and death in southern Lebanon, are following a similar policy and are reaping similar results. They claim to be aiming to eliminate the threat to Israel from PLO guerrillas (the "terrorists"), who, they also claim, are not the true representatives of the Palestinian people. But their actions make it clear that they understand the PLO and the Palestinian people are one. How else explain the destruction and annihilation of entire cities? And despite their overwhelming superiority of arms, and their rapid advance to Beirut, they have not succeeded in subduing the Palestinians, but only in strengthening their resolve and increasing the isolation of Israel from the world community of nations.

The weakness of Israel's strength of arms arises from Begin's purpose in fighting this war. If in fact the war had been fought to destroy a Palestinian military threat against Israel, it would now be over and judged a brilliant success. In fact, as well-informed people throughout the world know, the real purpose was to prevent genuine Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank. As George W. Ball (undersecretary of state in the Kennedy

and Johnson administrations) put it, the main objective in invading Lebanon was to destroy the PLO leadership "and thus silence the only legitimate and recognized Palestinian opposition so Israel could impose Mr. Begin's own version of West Bank autonomy—a concept, as he has redefined it, that remarkably resembles apartheid."

The simple truth is that there is no military solution to the Palestinian question. The Begin policies (and those of a good portion of the Labor party, too) are

not helping Israel in any way. Internationally, Israel has steadily been losing ground, while the PLO has been gaining recognition and support. More countries now recognize and have relations with the PLO than with Israel. And an international consensus is forming around the idea of a sovereign Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Domestically, the military policies are a disaster. Inflation this year is expected to be 136 percent, according to the *Jerusalem Post*. The trade deficit this year

will be almost \$20 billion. Unemployment is high and rising. The housing shortage is acute. And, for the first time last year more Jews left Israel (20,000) than arrived (11,000) (almost 20 percent of Israeli citizens are now living abroad, many of them to escape military service).

In short, the security of Israel is no longer to be won by defeating enemies on the battlefield. The only hope for peace and security is to extend to the Palestinians what the Israelis sought for themselves in the 1940s—a state of their own.

*Unemployment insurance is not equitable: Reagan*

Several hundred thousand unemployed Americans will soon exhaust the 39 weeks of unemployment insurance benefits that is the maximum now available, and four million Americans are expected to join the ranks of those officially living in poverty this year. (The government standard for poverty in 1981 was an income of \$9,287 for a family of four.) The poverty level is now expected to go above 15 percent for the first time since 1965.

In the face of this grim reality, John F. Cogan, Assistant Secretary of Labor for policy and research told the Senate Finance Committee on July 29 that the Reagan administration "strongly opposes" a 13-week extension of benefits to those who have been unemployed for nine full months. Such an extension, Cogan said, would be "inequitable, ill-timed and costly." When asked by one of the senators what the administration proposes, other than "for people to sit at home and wait for economic recovery, or deplete their resources, sell their homes, until they qualify for welfare," Cogan said the administration proposes nothing.

This was too much even for members of the Senate. Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.) said: "You've got Marie Antoinette beat. She said, 'Let them eat

cake.' It sounds like you're saying, 'Don't let them eat anything if it's going to cost money.'" To this Cogan replied that unemployment insurance was "not the proper vehicle for dealing with poverty." Poverty, he explained, "will be with us for a long time."

The problem, Cogan went on, is that some people who had been out for work for nine months were not among the

fare of working Americans might be inopportune, especially as Congress will almost certainly extend benefits beyond their present limits. Even so, Cogan expressed the true attitude of Ronald Reagan and his gang. In their eyes the purpose of government is not to serve the American people, but to protect and promote the profitability of Corporate America. Reagan's one virtue is that he has made this explicit. As he sees it, the welfare of the American people can be provided for only through the largesse of the giant corporations.

Unfortunately, all our major public figures share Reagan's bottom-line belief that the health of the country depends on keeping business highly profitable, and that this is the first function of our government. The difference between Reagan and his Democratic rivals is that Reagan states these principles openly, with obvious contempt for the needs and feelings of working people, while liberal Demo-

*Too many long-term unemployed
are not living in poverty, aide says.*

"truly needy." You see, some of them have working spouses. Others own homes. Some may even have savings accounts. Studies of similar programs in the past suggested that as many as two-thirds of those receiving extended benefits were not even living below the poverty line, Cogan said. Anyway, he might have added, who do these unemployed think they are? Lockheed? Or Chrysler? Obviously these potential poverty cheaters are not so worthy of sponging off the public coffers.

This being an election year, it is likely to occur to someone in the White House that such callous disregard for the wel-

crats generally do their best to protect working-class Americans in the bargain.

And there's the rub. The bargain was possible only during the years of expansion of American industry. It began to fall apart with Corporate America's decline, as did the Democrats' ability to govern effectively. That opened the way for Reagan.

Now the question is: What next? A return to status quo ante won't work. Only some public figures arguing openly for social control of investment in the common good can begin to move American politics off dead center. We await their emergence.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PALESTINIAN PEACE

THE AMERICA-ISRAEL COUNCIL FOR Israeli-Palestinian Peace appreciates your coverage of the many Israeli groups that are working for peace with the PLO, on the basis of mutual recognition, as well as the information you gave in your July 28 issue about similar American groups. Your coverage of Sartawi's July 13 press conference in Paris may have been unique among American newspapers, and yet the message of Sartawi, that "the PLO has formally conceded to Israel in the most unequivocal manner the right to exist on a reciprocal basis" is of key importance to all Americans.

The AICIPP is an American support group for the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. General Matti Peled and Uri Avnery are chairman and vice-chairman of the Israeli Council. Americans interested in contacting AICIPP can do so at 4816 Cornell Avenue, Downers Grove, IL 60515, telephone 312-969-7584. Avnery's press conference in Washington, DC, was co-sponsored by AICIPP and Middle East Peace Project, 339 Lafayette, New York, NY.

—Mary Appelman
Chair, American-Israel Council
for Israeli-Palestinian Peace
Downers Grove, Ill.

MOTIVES

I FIND YOUR COVERAGE OF THE Israeli invasion of Lebanon excellent. I was particularly impressed by Diana Johnstone's article (ITT, July 28), which synthesized the simultaneous preparations for peace by the PLO and for war by the government of Israel as well as heightening the context of the present situation in Lebanon.

There exists ample documentation (some of which can be found in the recent Israeli press) to suggest that two of the motivating factors of the brutal Israeli incursion into Lebanon are to (1) pre-empt a PLO peace initiative (a process far more frightening to Begin than war), and (2) present a *fait accompli* to the non-Jewish residents of the West Bank and Gaza.

Discussions of "a new Lebanon," "a new political reality," "a Mideast free of terrorism," etc., are nothing more than transparent attempts to rationalize Israel's continued war against a people who desire only the right to return to their homeland.

Some people have noted the irony of Israeli leaders discussing a "final solution" to the Palestine question. But is it, in fact, ironic? Does it not appear that Begin, Sharon and Eitan have assimilated well the lessons of an earlier group of political leaders?

—George H. Shockey Jr.
Ft. Myers, Fla.

PLO

YOUR EDITORIAL ON ISRAEL (ITT, June 30) condemns Begin and the invasion of Lebanon. This comes as no surprise, since *In These Times* has consistently supported the PLO and opposed Israel.

I do not support Begin's policies on the West Bank. Yet one can understand the reluctance of the Israelis to turn the West Bank and Gaza over to the PLO, which is pledged to the elimination of Israel. The PLO Covenant still refers to the destruction of Israel as a major goal. And who would guarantee the safety of

Israel? The UN—big joke!? Only the Israelis seem to be concerned about the safety of Israel.

If the only things the Arabs and Palestinians want are the West Bank and Gaza, then why didn't they accept that state in 1948 when Palestine was split? It's very simple—they wanted *all* of Palestine—no Israel. And again, between 1948 and 1967, when these areas were under Arab control, why didn't they set up a state? It was only after the Arab failure to destroy Israel in 1967 that they began their terror and propaganda campaign about the rights of self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs.

Look what the PLO has done to Lebanon! They have taken over parts of the country, made schools, hospitals and refugee camps into fortresses. The Lebanese would like to be rid of them, but haven't the strength to get rid of them.

You conclude by saying that the path to peace in the Middle East is one of mutual recognition and respect. The Arab countries have refused to recognize the existence of Israel since its creation—long before the West Bank and Gaza came under Israeli control. They have been at war with Israel ever since and provide the financial, military and political support for the PLO. Why? Because they want an end to the state of Israel.

—Jack Stein
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Editor's note: We have neither supported the PLO nor opposed Israel. We have recognized, as most of the world now does, that the PLO is the only true representative of the Palestinian people. And we have opposed Israeli policies that have made it impossible to reach accommodation with the Palestinians. We have always insisted that the basis of a lasting peace in the Middle East must be general recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace on the part of the Arabs, and agreement on a Palestinian homeland (probably on the West Bank) on the part of the Israelis. Begin's policy has been designed to destroy independent Palestinian organizations and to deny Palestinians the right to a state of their own. In the course of pursuing this policy Begin has caused Israel to become far more brutal and terroristic than the PLO, and, in our opinion, he has done so in pursuit of an unattainable goal.

WHOSE HERITAGE?

THE MILITARY EXPEDITION OF THE Israeli government into Lebanon may well have cut the umbilical cord that has held captive and in a state of political impotency many Jews in the United States and in other parts of the world (including Israel)—an impotency created by emotionalism. This has resulted in a refusal to attack any policy of the Israeli government—past and present—with which they may wholeheartedly have disagreed.

There has never been a monolithic view in the Jewish community toward the Israeli government—or any other subject—in spite of a so-called Jewish establishment, which professes to speak on behalf of the Jewish community.

Does the Israeli government necessarily represent the best interests of Israel—any more than the Reagan government necessarily represents the best interests of the U.S.?

Is the Israeli action "excusable" as a form of "sacred terrorism," or might it

be compared to the invasion of the Sudetenland, the liquidation of Lidice, Czechoslovakia, and its population, or to the siege of Leningrad?

The Palestinians are not a "non-existent people" to be "ignored," "removed," "exterminated," as the U.S. attempted with Native Americans—in the name of "progress"—using forms of "isolation" and "pacification."

Is this our heritage—we who were the victims of the holocaust? Is the only good Indian a dead Indian?—(as was once the motto in the U.S.)—and, therefore, the only good Palestinian a dead Palestinian?

What difference is there between a grenade being thrown into a bus and fragmentation bombs being dropped from airplanes on civilian populations? Terrorism is terrorism is terrorism!

We Jews must speak out against the atrocities—the barbaric actions of the Begin government—being committed by Jews, whereby all Jews are "smeared by the same brush" and accused of actions not in the best interests of any people. Our heritage is one of participation in the forefront of liberation movements and against injustice. Our ethical teachings demand that our voices must join the chorus of protest that has been growing—even in Israel.

Let Jewish voices for peace join with the non-Jewish voices for peace and demand immediate withdrawal from Lebanon, military disengagements in the Middle East and a return to the original planned conference in Geneva of all involved parties. Let us have the courage to condemn the Israeli government when wrong, so it can be put right.

—Erwin A. Salk
Chicago, Ill.

MUST CONTINUE

HERE IS \$100 TOWARD KEEPING YOU going. I hope that, like Mark Twain, the reports of your death are greatly exaggerated. During the reign of Reagan, it seems especially important that an independent and critical left perspective be maintained. As the American political system succumbs to a kind of infantile paralysis, I can't tell you how refreshing it is to read analytical pieces that go to the heart of the matter: The decline of American capitalism, along with its imperial military superstructure. When one seriously considers the political alternatives and historical options before us, one can become quite depressed.

Nevertheless, because *In These Times* "tells it like it is," the reader is never in

danger of underestimating the nature and full scope of the difficulties that currently confront this country. I guess the upshot is that somehow your newspaper must be kept going, no matter what it takes. So hang in there, *In These Times*, and don't let the "economics" of the situation overwhelm you.

—Bart Harloe
Stockton, Calif.

CRISIS MANAGEMENT

TOO MANY CRISES IN ONE MONTH. IN Boston this month someone torch-ed the joint office of *Gay Community News*, *Fag Rag* and the adjacent Glad Day Book Store. As a gay leftist, all these are most important to me.

But is *In These Times* any less important? You're everything you say you are in your fundraising centerfold. Sometimes I can figure out what's happening from the regular media—but that has to do with socialist analysis rather than what the media reports. If I want to know some details, I have to read *In These Times*. Or if there's a filler in the *Boston Globe* or a feature story on El Salvador in the *Times*, I know I'll have to wait for *In These Times* to learn more.

Besides, you really are coalition-building, and you're letting me know what coalitions are actually occurring.

Wish I were rich, of course, but having my college-teaching job (at UMass-Boston), a union job, at least makes me able to contribute something. Which I'd better do, since George Shultz is probably not one of your subscribers.

Hope *In These Times* makes it; I agree it's important. (*GCN* and *Fag Rag* are continuing to publish.)

—Ron Schreiber
Cambridge, Mass.

STRIPPED DOWN

I WISH THIS COULD BE MORE, BUT WE are semi-retired (forced to be) and living on a very stripped down income and in a very stripped down lifestyle already.

We sincerely hope and trust you'll find a way to keep going. We *must* get the Democrats to develop a viable philosophy and create a workable new program of new ideas that the general public will back at the polls.

Keep at it. I wish we had Walter Reuther back. Let's hear more from Harrington. And about any promising newcomers in Congress.

—Jean and Joe Reshower
Atlanta, Ga.

Subscribe to IN THESE TIMES



"In These Times is a cure for mental monotony, a relief from rhetoric—whether they're writing about world affairs, Walt Disney World or my world of acting—it's a publication that deserves to be read and digested."

Edward Asner

- ☐ YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** if at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.
- ☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.
- ☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.

- ☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
- ☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

IN DEPTH

An interview with
Nguyen Co Thach

By Kathleen Gough

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH, I spent six weeks in Vietnam and three in Kampuchea, studying political and economic developments since 1975. On January 29 I had the following interview with Nguyen Co Thach, the foreign minister of Vietnam, which explains major aspects of Vietnam's foreign policy.

I'm sad to see that Vietnam is still so poor.

We are poor, but we are better off than many countries. I went to the U.S. for the first time in 1977, to the General Assembly of the United Nations. I met a dozen journalists. Some of them asked me, "Have you seen the wealth and strength of the U.S. while staying in New York?" I answered, "Yes, I have seen your wealth (I didn't say 'your strength')." Then some asked me, "If you had been here before the U.S. war, would you have counseled fighting against the U.S.?" I told them I was sorry I hadn't been there before, but if I had been it would have made me even more determined to fight. I said that having come, I could see with my own eyes their weaknesses and strengths.

Their main weakness is that, whereas Vietnam has more than 57 million people with a GNP of \$7 billion, there they have one family like the Rockefellers owning \$20 billion. On the other hand, journalists who visit Vietnam from the U.S. say that in the whole country we don't have as many beggars as they have in New York. So the Americans' main weakness is that their wealth is so unevenly distributed, while ours is equitable. That is why we could endure war for decades, but they could not.

Actually, you can't really imagine how poor we are, but what we have is well distributed.

In your speech at the Council for Foreign Relations in New York on Nov. 6, 1980, you mentioned four possible outcomes of the situation in Southeast Asia in the next few years. One was that the tension would persist as in 1979, with the ASEAN governments trying to impose their solution on the Indochinese countries. A second was that the U.S. would continue to play the China card, China would embark on a second big invasion of Vietnam, and Kampuchea might be invaded from Thailand. The third was that the ASEAN countries would gradually improve their relations with the Indochinese countries, while China continued to try to sabotage them. And the fourth was a basic settlement of the problems by all concerned. How do you now see these four eventualities?

These four possibilities still exist. More than a year later, we are still in the first one: ASEAN is colluding with the U.S. and China to impose a solution for Kampuchea that is made in Bangkok. It's still a joint venture on all their parts. But it's clear now that these maneuvers could never succeed. Now they admit the situation is deadlocked. We reply that it is deadlocked for you, who want to reverse the state of affairs, but not for those who want to revive the Kampuchean people. For them, events are taking a normal course. So the conflict drags on.

There are also significant differences between China and ASEAN, and among the ASEAN governments. They wanted a coalition [between Son Sann, Sihanouk

and the Pol Pot forces—K.G.], but it's a failure. They wanted an international conference, but it was a case of one hand clapping. There's a contradiction between China and ASEAN over the coalition because ASEAN wants a loose coalition, but Pol Pot has rejected that formula, and China supports Pol Pot. ASEAN wants to combine military with political pressure, but China wants only military action, so there's a contradiction there.

Within ASEAN, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia are on one side, with Singapore and Thailand on the other. Indonesia and Malaysia see China as the main threat, ultimately. Singapore and Thailand think the main threat is Vietnam. But even Singapore sees a threat from China. These countries are also not in agreement about how to support the reactionaries. Thailand and Singapore want to give weapons, but Indonesia wants to stay aloof, and Malaysia is more or less like Indonesia.

You must remember that Thailand always invaded Laos and Kampuchea and considered them as vassals. Between 1940 and the present, Thailand has made five offenses against Indochina. In 1940, they invaded Laos and Cambodia and took five provinces of Cambodia and all the territory west of the Mekong in Laos, with Japanese support. The second offensive was in 1954. The Thais entered the SEATO military alliance with the U.S.



against the three Indochinese states. The third time was in 1960-62 when Thailand sent troops to intervene in the war in Laos. The fourth was during the U.S. war against Indochina, when Thailand provided bases and sent troops to all three countries. The fifth offensive is Thailand's present coalition with China against the Indochinese states. There have been more than 40 years of attempted expansion of Thailand against Indochina. Not so long ago, the Thai foreign minister told me Vietnam's army was threatening Thailand. I told him, in the modern period the Vietnamese army has never set foot on Thai territory, but the Thai army has three times set foot in Vietnam. He said no, only twice, in 1789, and in 1966 during the U.S. war. I said no, three times—the other time was in 1833. He didn't deny it. The Thais have a bad memory for history—it isn't in their favor.

Why is Singapore so opposed to you?

They want foreign capital. If Thailand is unstable, and at war, foreign capital will move from there to Singapore. Or at least this is what was argued recently in the press of Thailand.

Under what conditions would Vietnam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea? You see, this is not the first time that Vietnamese troops have gone in to help the Kampuchians. It's the third time in the last 35 years. The first time was in the French war, the second in the U.S. war, and the third was during the Chinese threat to all of us in Indochina. And we withdrew the first two times. This shows we respected their sovereignty and independence. We withdrew in 1954 and again in 1973 when we were asked to; then we were invited in again in 1975 to help liberate Phnom Penh—we were there just 100 days with heavy artillery, which the Khmer Rouge forces lacked. When Phnom Penh was taken we immediately withdrew.

Were you there when they emptied the city?

No, we withdrew before that; we had absolutely no idea that they would do that. So you see, we can withdraw again now if the Chinese will inform us that they will stop provisioning the Pol Pot troops and making threats against Indochina. The problem is between China and Indochina, not between ASEAN and Indochina, but the Chinese mix up the cards and involve ASEAN. This is a Chinese design to confuse the situation and oppose ASEAN to Indochina. The Chinese are cleverer than the Americans. The

Vietnam's foreign minister talks of his country's prospects with its neighbors and the problems it faces in its relations with the United States and China.

U.S. invaded Indochina with its own troops, but the Chinese use proteges. We will withdraw completely once the Chinese stop their threats. We proposed a cease fire on our own northern border for the Tet holiday, which is just ending, but they refused it, although they have actually observed it. We have declared that we will make a partial withdrawal if Thailand stops aiding Pol Pot, Son Sann, and especially Pol Pot.

Do you have direct evidence of China's military aid to the Pol Pot forces?

Oh, yes. Ample evidence of both Chinese and U.S. aid. All that is in the open.

Many people wonder if Vietnam could have avoided the conflict with China. What would it have taken in order for you not to have provoked China?

We have existed for 4,000 years as China's neighbors. From 111 B.C. until 938 A.D. we were dominated by China. Since 938 China has invaded us 10 times. The longest period of peace was 350 years between the early 15th and the 18th centuries. The shortest period was 30 years, in the 13th century. The Chinese would like to forget all this, and the western press would like not to know about it. We are victims, but they always say we are criminals, just as robbers say that someone else is doing the robbing. In brief, they would like to have us in their pocket. There's a book by a French professor, *China and the Settlement of the First Indochina War*—it's well documented. It shows how at the Geneva conference in 1954, the Chinese entered into an agreement with the Western powers to stop the war, recognize royal govern-

ments in Laos and Kampuchea, and divide Vietnam into north and south. We could have liberated all of Vietnam after Dien Bien Phu in 1954, but the Chinese controlled our supplies by rail from the north, so we couldn't continue fighting.

It's like feeding a dog in such a way as to control it. They would like to have Vietnam as a tool of their policy, and also to Balkanize us and keep us weak. The memoirs of Nixon and Kissinger are quite clear on this. During the July 1971 visit to Peking, the U.S. and China agreed that U.S. troops would be withdrawn from South Vietnam but that a puppet government would be maintained. At that very moment we were in Paris demanding U.S. withdrawal, the overthrow of Thieu and a coalition between the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the neutrals and Thieu's replacement. The Chinese sabotaged all that.

During the 10 invasions that I mentioned, we defeated the Chinese, but we always paid tribute; we never provoked their chauvinism. We sent gold, ivory, elephants, even women. Of course, they don't ask that now, but they want to vassalize us and to have us as tools of their war games. They want to control Southeast Asia through the Maoist groups and the Chinese residents, using them as their tools.

Pol Pot and his friends are still an enigma to me.

Pol Pot was able to liberate Kampuchea because the main war was a Vietnamese war. Kampuchea and Laos were subsidiary and complementary, and had Vietnamese support. The main battlefield was Vietnam. When the U.S. was defeated in Vietnam, it couldn't hold out in Laos and Kampuchea. Again, Pol Pot did not have a genocidal policy during the war, only after the overthrow of Lon Nol.

Many socialists and liberals in the West think that Vietnam had every right to throw the Pol Pot forces out of Vietnam, but that you had no right to go in and take Phnom Penh and install there a government of your choosing.

We were threatened and invaded by Pol Pot from April 1975 to December 1978, with great destruction to our people and our 8 southwestern provinces. We had the right of self-defense, and that included going into Phnom Penh just as the U.S., the USSR and Great Britain went into Berlin in order to defeat fascism. The second point is that if you see only Pol Pot, you are really looking only at a subsidiary side of the problem. China wanted to take Vietnam in a sandwich, in a pincer movement, with Pol Pot in the south and China in the north. We were aware of those preparations, so we broke the pincers. If we hadn't been able to defeat them in the south, we wouldn't have been able to defeat them in the north. For the last 2,000 years, China has always taken Vietnam in two prongs, from north and south.

The Kampuchean resistance was genuine. I think you know about the incredible genocide in Kampuchea under Pol Pot. What is not so well known is that from 1975, from the evacuation of Phnom Penh, the resistance started. It was sporadic, it wasn't nationally organized, but it was there, even in Phnom Penh at the very start, and even in their army. For example, Heng Samrin was a commander in their army, and so was Hung Sen, the present foreign minister. And Pol Pot executed a huge number of Khmer Rouge cadres, army commanders and ministers. But with such repression, to organize in a single front took time. The United Front for National Salvation was formed officially only in Dec. 3, 1978, but it had been struggling a long time. It took less than three weeks to defeat Pol Pot—between December 19 and January 7—precisely because of the internal resistance.

Kathleen Gough is a Research Associate in Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Her visit to Indochina was sponsored by the Committee for Social Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

PERSPECTIVES

Rifts still plague Israeli opposition

By Dan Rothstein

THE KATAMON QUARTER, one of Israel's poorest areas, was an unexpected place to find opposition to the invasion of Lebanon. Populated by first and second generation Oriental Jewish immigrants from Arab countries, Katamon residents have voted overwhelmingly for Menachem Begin and his Likud Party. But two weeks into the war, a former Begin supporter, 25-year-old Ety Mesika, said that after watching the Israeli TV news, which included an excerpt from a CBS report showing the destruction caused by the Israeli bombing of Beirut, she thought "It's so confusing. You know there's another side to this, but after we saw those scenes of Beirut they showed us all those arms the PLO has been storing: 30 tons a day for 30 days, just until we get it out of there! I suppose that justifies this whole thing, but I can't help wondering what the people in Beirut must think about us. We're the people who come, drop bombs and move on. I don't want people to think about us that way."

"Besides, it's not going to work. Just as nobody could wipe out the Jewish people, nobody's going to wipe out the Palestinians. We got to realize that before this goes on forever. Just think what it's doing to us, all these young kids being sent up there, shooting, being shot at, seeing their friends killed, how much more does Sharon want? But what can I do? Until we rise up and tell them 'Stop him,' nothing's going to happen."

By the beginning of July Mesika's views were shared by many more Israelis, who agreed on the need to shout "Stop!" to Defense Minister Sharon and Prime

Minister Begin. The leaders of the opposition Labor Party were told that the "military operation would last anywhere from a minimum of 12 hours to a maximum of 48." Other Israelis were misled by the tightly censored news allowed on the radio and television. Only soldiers supporting the war were interviewed on the air and their views were backed by Galilee residents speaking gratefully of a "father taking care of us this time." Three days into the fighting Israelis were told that this Galilee population was now out of PLO artillery range (the announced objective in the "Peace for Galilee" operation). But soon thereafter, new justifications for advancing northward were discovered. Begin, looking like the political magician he is, pulled captured documents out of his sleeve in a television interview proving the "PLO's direct link to Moscow" and "its plans to destroy all of northern Israel." Huge caches of captured arms were paraded before Israeli audiences as the army moved toward Beirut. And news of the impact on the population of southern Lebanon was caged in descriptions of "damaged military targets hidden among civilians."

Information about Israeli casualties, a near sacred issue, was held back for several days and was only released when the lack of information combined with the huge call-up of reservists, sparked panicky rumors about the number of Israeli dead and wounded.

But the lack of reliable information and the military success were not the major reasons the opposition is ineffective.

The Peace Now movement, made up primarily of Labor Party voters, has not articulated the changes it believes necessary to resolve the conflict. Fearful of jeopardizing its support from the center of the Labor Party it has rejected the demands of some in the left-wing of the



Opposition to the policies of Begin and Sharon has cropped up among their Oriental supporters.

fer zone or a biblical inheritance, and both preclude the possibility of any territorial compromise.

The triumvirate leading this war, Begin, Sharon and the Chief of Staff Rafel Eitan, have been clear about the direction in which they are headed. During the past year, the more they have been frustrated by their inability to quiet Palestinian resistance on the West Bank the harsher their policies have become. Meir Pail, a former high-ranking military officer and leftist critic of both the Labor Party and the Begin government, said during the second week of the war that "this is the Begin we were afraid of when he was elected in 1977. This war is the true expression of his gang." This trio has continued to do much to prove Pail correct. A few days before the war the Chief of Staff declared that there is "a military solution to the PLO," while Begin, in the first Knesset debate during the war, announced that Israelis are "fighting against two-legged animals." Sharon, for his part, can hardly conceal his intentions. Sometimes he talks of destroying the "terrorists' infrastructure" and at other times he simply describes his goal as "destroying the terrorists."

Such expressions should have evoked a strong response much earlier in the war, but the opposition had been disarmed this past spring by the image of a resolute Begin carrying out the final stages of the withdrawal from Sinai against the hysterical protests of the extreme right. Firm on the southern front, Begin meanwhile was planning Israel's ugliest and most controversial war ever. Had he attempted this type of invasion into Lebanon soon after his 1977 election when everyone was expecting the worst, the opposition to the war might have been greater and might have stopped the invasion.

A second obstacle to the strengthening of a peace coalition in Israel has come from an unwelcome ally of Begin, the PLO. According to Israeli doves, the PLO's call for the destruction of the state of Israel and the return of all Jews (except those who were born in the area before 1917) to their native countries speaks directly to the individual and collective fears of all of Israel and provokes an equally uncompromising stand. Ironically, in the week before the war, Peace Now representatives carried out a canvassing drive to gain more support for their movement. Downtown Jerusalem was swarming with angry debates between a few lonely Peace Now members and their many opponents who vehemently challenged Peace Now to find a counter-

part to their movement in the PLO. Each discussion about aspects and problems of Israeli policy quickly turned into yet another forum for detailing the contents of the PLO charter and proving the impossibility of making peace with it. Peace Now's ineffectual responses only reinforced the fact that the refusal of the two principal parties to recognize each other remains, after the war just as before it, a major obstacle to progress.

Although usually ignored by the Western press, a third problem, the conflict between Western, Ashkenazi Jews and North African and Middle Eastern (Oriental) Jews greatly influences the nature and potential of the opposition to Begin and Sharon.

The Peace Now movement is perceived as the new embodiment of the old Labor Party Ashkenazi establishment. This provokes an emotional and antagonistic response among Oriental Jews (now 60 percent of the Jewish population) who have recently voted overwhelmingly against the Labor Party. According to many Orientals, Labor Party rhetoric talked of socialism while building wealthy suburbs for Western Jews and poor slums for Oriental immigrants. Yet despite the regressive economic policies of Begin's coalition partners since 1977, Begin himself has maintained a tremendous appeal as an anti-establishment leader. This image wins him far greater support than his hardline anti-Arab position. (While public opinion polls do show that more Orientals take a hawkish position than Ashkenazis, the same polls show that elections in Israel—voting patterns in particular—are decided primarily on the basis of domestic issues and not in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict.)

Unfortunately, Peace Now members have held on to old stereotypes about Begin's supporters exactly at a time when many young Orientals have protested the government's pro-settlements spending priorities. In late 1979 government cutbacks in the social services and in subsidies on basic foodstuffs coincided with the announcement of a 150 million dollar allocation for West Bank settlements in an effort to cajole a Gush Emmunim settlement to obey a court order to move a mere two miles from its present location. Infuriated by the government's action, poor Oriental Jews swept into the streets of Jerusalem's neighborhoods destroying police cars, bank and shop windows and public property. Shouting "Money to the slums, not to the settlements," they moved toward the prime minister's residence calling to him, "Begin, we put you in power; we can put you out!" Peace Now was slow to respond to the issues raised by the government actions and the riots that followed. One Peace Now member said the movement was "put off by the unruly behavior of the Oriental residents of the poor neighborhoods." Possibilities for broadening their coalition were missed and the antagonism between poor Orientals and better-off Ashkenazi Peace Now members increased.

These internal conflicts, the fear of the PLO and the major opposition parties' confusion and inconsistencies all played into the hands of Begin and Sharon at the beginning of this war. But the anger now expressed in poor Oriental neighborhoods indicates a new possibility of broadening the anti-government coalition. To do this, the present peace coalition will need to reassess its position as a basically elitist movement. If it leads the way in emphasizing the connection between reactionary economic policies and expansionist military programs it could begin to change the Israeli political scene.



Israelis are beginning to believe that the bombing won't work.

Minister Begin. The 50,000 demonstrators protesting the invasion into Lebanon spoke bitterly of "Sharon's war." Not an insignificant number, 50,000 demonstrators is equivalent to five million in the U.S. But despite the large numbers now protesting the invasion and the Israeli actions in Beirut, this well-publicized opposition was weak and confused at the outset of the war. Those opposed (most of whom knew that Sharon had been planning the war) were neutralized during the period most of the damage occurred in Southern Lebanon. Why, if dissension lately has been so vociferous and objections were actually raised to the possibility of such a war long before it began, has the Israeli opposition been so ineffective?

There were some obvious reasons. Most Israelis lacked full information about what was transpiring across their

movement to call for a Palestinian state to be established alongside of Israel. Content with organizing demonstrations against Begin's policies, it provides little leadership for moving in a new direction. In contrast to the Labor Party and the Peace Now Movement, the right-wing parties (and Gush Emmunim settlement movement) have not hesitated in presenting a clear, consistent vision of the future. They argue simply that the Palestinians had their chance to establish an independent state from 1948 to 1967 when Jordan controlled the West Bank but having missed that opportunity, the "Arabs of the Land of Israel" (as they call the Palestinians in the occupied territories) can choose to live under the conditions set by the Israeli government or they are welcome to leave. The West Bank for the right in Israel is either a security buf-

INPRINT

AMERICAN LITERATURE

The long career of a populist writer

Ripening
By Meridel LeSueur
Feminist Press, \$7.95

By Ralph Moss

When Meridel LeSueur was chosen to be one of the two keynote speakers at the American Writers Congress last year there were some raised eyebrows and some grumbling. An "Old Lefty" given leadership over a meeting of 3,000 mostly young people! The Communist Conspiracy reared its ugly head and people started talking about how previously the '30s and '40s writers Congresses had been dominated by the Communist Party. Was the past repeating itself?

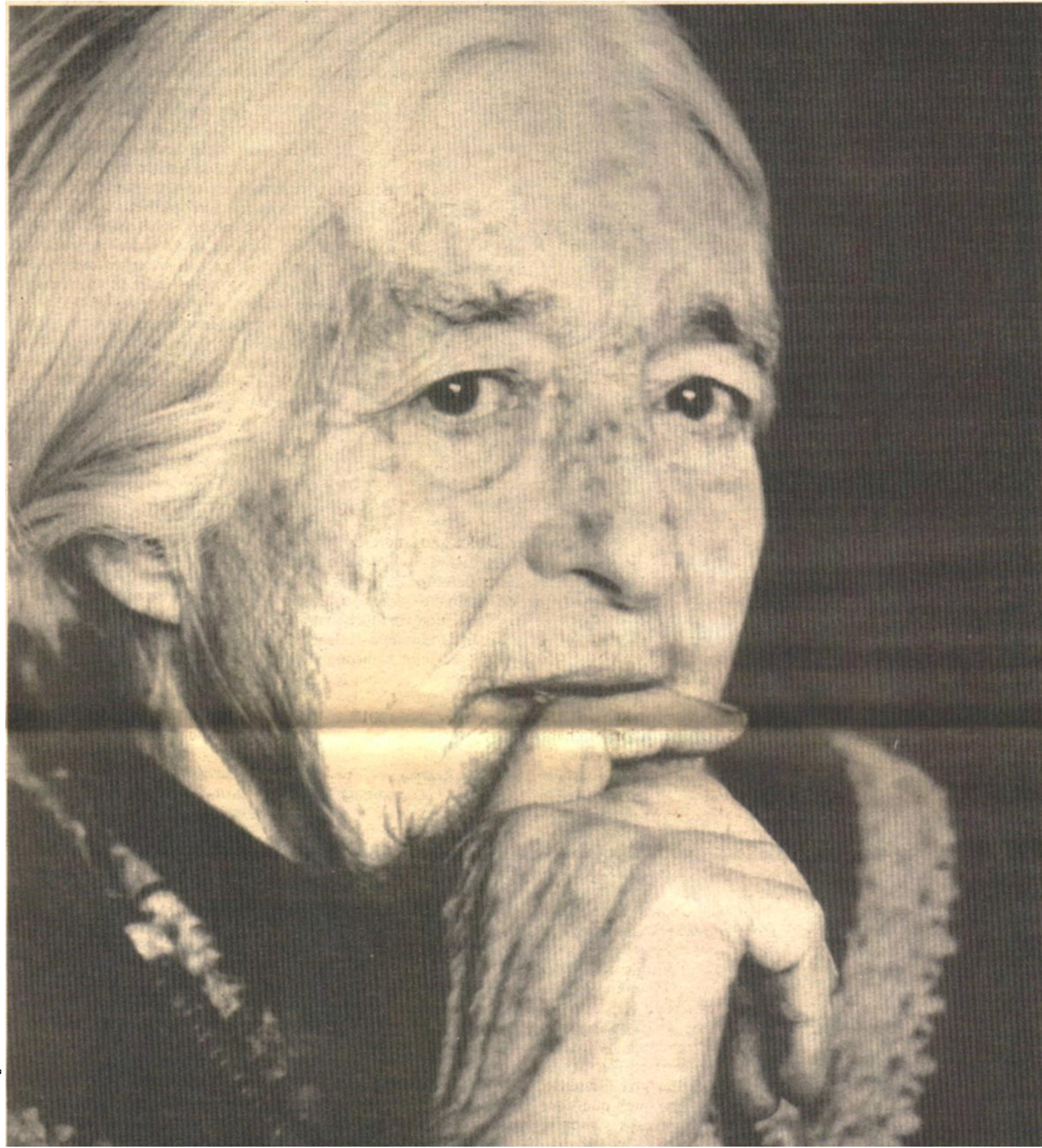
The fears were ludicrous, of course, not only because Meridel LeSueur was not following Moscow's (or anyone's) orders, but because such a fear entirely misreads her significance for American letters, a significance this new anthology makes clear.

These selected works, 1927-1980, have been expertly edited with an introduction by Elaine Hedges. It follows in the wake of work by John Crawford, whose West End Press published *The Girl* (after a 40 year hiatus) as well as other unpublished or out-of-print essays and stories.

Born with the century, Meridel LeSueur passed through and influenced almost all the major turns in American literary life of this period.

Her mother and grandmother were self-sufficient feminists, and to them the new book is dedicated. (Male relatives hardly figure in the book at all.) Her stepfather was a Socialist mayor in South Dakota before World War I, and she was friends with the anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman when she was a precocious child.

In the '20s she wrote rather precious stories, worked as a Hollywood extra and thought of suicide. The Depression of the '30s brought her face to face



Jerome Liebling

Performance

Continued from page 24
ival," recalled Fenger. "We've worked here before, doing some of our more elaborately costumed pieces, so they knew about us. We came out to look at this site, since all of our performances arise from the occasion provided by the site. After we got our idea, we sent out about 300 letters to people who had worked with us before or expressed interest after seeing our work—we've developed quite a network. We said we were planning a performance for the Peace Festival and that the one criterion was that they must not be afraid of water. As you can see, about 200 people responded.

"We had two meetings at the beginning of the week," Dehlholm said, "and then we performed our snail walk today.

Most of us are strangers, but it's incredible the intimacy and fellow feeling this kind of thing brings out. Look at everyone." Throughout the large room, people were hugging each other, laughing, stripping out of wet clothes and into dry ones. Many of those momentarily naked seemed hardly the types to be at ease with public nudity, but in this context, anxious propriety seemed to give way to innocent euphoria.

I walked over to a group of people and asked one young man, who was punching his head through a turtleneck sweater, why he'd joined the performance. "You know," he said, "a few months ago even, I was more or less ignoring this issue. But Haig and Reagan have really frightened us. You

see, when they say it is possible to win a limited nuclear war, we suddenly realized what they're talking about—they mean a war limited to Europe!"

An older woman agreed, noting that this narrow channel crucial to a Soviet fleet otherwise bottled up in the Baltic Sea, might well be an early Ground Zero for American missiles. Others had different associations—to the Vietnamese and Haitian boatpeople, to the Danish Jews who had fled Nazi persecution from this very beach 40 years earlier to the rites of baptism and resurrection.

"For me," another woman said, "the whole thing became incredibly compelling—almost primal. It stopped being political and became biological. I felt the pull of the sea: I felt primordial alive, and then this feeling of feeling so alive came back on itself and became powerfully political. Because that after all is

what we must fight now to save."

A few minutes later I was standing out on the wood-plank porch of the boathouse, facing the water, talking with Jensen and Dehlholm once again. "It's very difficult, you know," he said, "to find new images that can wake people up to the horrible reality of this nuclear war danger. This is vital work that artists are especially qualified to take on, since their very livelihood is image making.

"I think this was a wonderful effort. The whole world seems to be sleepwalking toward a holocaust. Maybe the image of such sleepwalking paradoxically can help wake people up."

"Do you realize how long we were out there?" exclaimed Dehlholm as she joined us on the porch. "Almost two hours! It felt like maybe 10 minutes.

"At first I felt incredibly alone, cut off, isolated," Dehlholm said. "But then there came

to be this very strong feeling of being with others, of togetherness, of communion. When 200 people concentrate that strong, it gives off an aura.

"At first we were having our various associations, but as time went on it became like an emptiness for us. Everything became suspended. It was like a meditative exercise.

"No." She paused for a moment, searching for the right word. "No, it became like a prayer."

Twilight was descending. The strait was flat and silver, and on the water in the middle distance, 200 black balloons drifted silently, hauntingly, out toward the gathering night.

Lawrence Weschler is the author of *Solidarity: Poland in the Season of Its Passion and Seeing is Forgetting the Name of the Thing One Sees*. This article first appeared in a longer, slightly different form in *Artforum* (June 1982).

with a harsher reality. Like many writers, she gravitated toward the militant workers and to communism.

Her essays of this time are not only beautifully written, but are extremely important social documents. "I Was Marching" especially is important for revealing how the intellectuals' and the writers' movements came together in a time of great social crisis.

"I have never been in a strike before," she begins. "I am putting down exactly how I felt, because I believe others of my class feel the same as I did. I believe it stands for an important psychic change that must take place in all." The important psychic change was not just embracing a set of doctrines, but an assumption of working-class values as expressed in struggle. "I was filled with longing to act with them, and with fear that I could not."

What impelled the intellectuals was the fightback of the workers, which was met with bloody repression in Minneapolis as elsewhere. "In these terrible happenings," she wrote, "you cannot be neutral now. No one can be neutral in the face of bullets."

Joining the workers' demonstration, she exults, "As if an electric charge had passed through me, my hair stood on end. I was marching."

This, coupled with her occasional denunciations of capitalism, earned Meridel a reputation as a "dangerous red." In the '50s she refused to repudiate her beliefs and was blacklisted. FBI agents shadowed her and she couldn't even find employment as a waitress. For a while she lived in an abandoned bus in Albuquerque.

Ironically, in the '30s Meridel was not considered such a staunch leftist. A *New Masses* editor wrote—crudely, but perceptively—that her story "Women on the Breadlines" was "defeatist in attitude, lacking in revolutionary spirit and direction which characterize the usual contribution to *New Masses*."

This is perceptive because Meridel always seemed to stop short of offering her readers a solution to the problems she so ably, sometimes beautifully delineated. She celebrated the dramatic rhythm of the workers—"We were moving spontaneously in a movement, natural, hardy, and miraculous"—or she excoriated "the marks of the ravagers...the mark of that fearful exploitation," i.e., capitalism, but she stopped short of providing any answers.

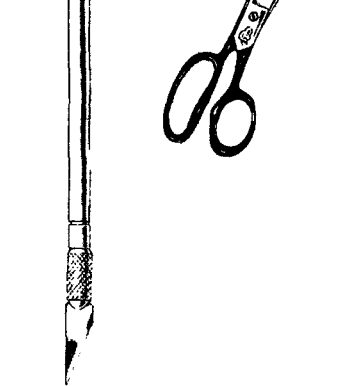
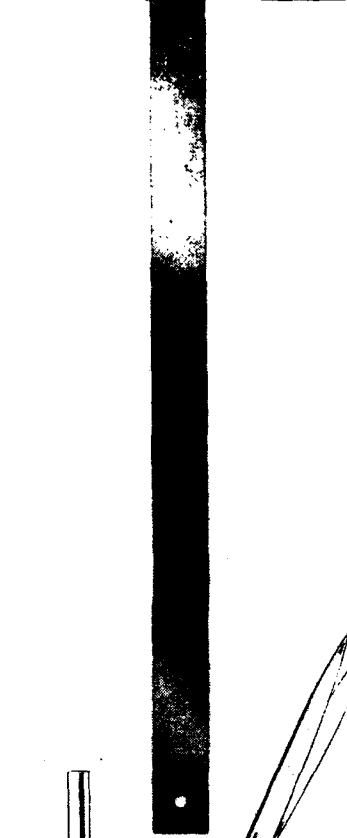
Why is this? Perhaps she was never really sold on the communist theory of a conscious vanguard that must lead the spontaneous workers' movement by raising its revolutionary awareness. In the '50s, after Khrushchev's "revelations" she spoke of the danger of "the superior person, even superior in theoretical knowledge, and ideological giant, but bereft of heart and humility."

If there is a solution it lies with "the people" who "in the thin shadow of their hunger...have the future in their hands. Only they."

Not for nothing does this anthology's jacket carry a quote from Carl Sandburg about Meridel's "reverence for humanity." Like Sandburg and Whitman, Meridel LeSueur stands in a line of great American populist writers who, while eschewing ideology, proclaimed their great faith in the average American.

Ralph Moss is the author of *The Cancer Syndrome*

NOTEBOOK



How to Do Leaflets,

Newsletters and Newspapers

By Nancy Brigham with Ann Raszmann and Dick Cluster
Popular Economic Press, P.O. Box 289, Boston, MA 02112, 111 pp., \$5.95 (lower in bulk)

There is no more excuse for ugly or boring newsletters from your favorite organization, not with this manual around. It gives practical advice on such subjects as running planning meetings, conducting interviews, turning clichés into clip-and-save articles, cropping photos for most (and least) flattering effect, fact-finding and distribution. It tells you how to doctor a quote (yes, it can be a responsible act) and it shows you a page of neatly-edited copy. The easy tone overcomes a novice's intimidation, but an experienced media person won't get away without learning something. One solid proof of competence is that the book itself is fun to read and good to look at. PA

Youngblood

By John Oliver Killens

University of Georgia Press, 475 pp., \$7.95

This is a welcome re-issue of a 1954 family saga of blacks in the rural South, written by a pioneer (according to Toni Cade Bambara) of the Neo-Black Arts Movement. The focus is on the Youngblood family from the turn of the century through the Depression, and through them the life of small-town Crossroads, Ga. Killens has a powerful ability to delineate character and scene in a de-

ceptively simple style. Events like the staging of a songfest or a worker's demand for correct pay take on the tension of high drama. The aspirations of this loving (but never cloying) family for dignity are located in a suffocating racist atmosphere. They all have guts, but they need more. Through unionizing, the NAACP, black-white friendships and education, each learns the need for—and risks of—banding together. Along the way Killens spins off brilliant little episodes—children forming buddy bonds; the rebirth of an old marriage; the local teacher's undergrad life at Howard University, and his relationship with an overachieving father; women's reactions to their own men's oppression of them. The book offers an unforgettable black perspective on whites; for blacks in Crossroads, even the best and friendliest white can be deadly dangerous. But the novel, even at its tragic climax, is never despairing. Hope and courage endure, tempered by the cruelties and frailties of real life. PA

Women of Cuba

By Inger Holt-Seeland, photographs by Jurgen Schytte
Lawrence Hill, 109 pp., \$7.95

This collection of interviews with women on a Cuban farm co-op, conducted by a Norwegian journalist who has lived in Cuba since 1959, is exceptional as much for its frankness as for its efficient recreation of character. The author avoids the all-too-common partisan journalist's tendency to over-explain and to justify weaknesses and frustrations in socialist society, and as a result the opportunities these women have stand in as bold relief as do the limits on them. The women range in age from a great-grandmother to a student, in color from black to white and in attitude from dedication to the Community Party to sullen passive resistance to government goals. Along with men and children who are around when conversations take place, they give illuminating answers to tough questions (questions that as a visitor to Cuba you may wish you had asked but did not dare to ask). Interchanges reveal both recognized and unrecognized machismo as well as a certain fatalism about it; the existence of racism today and differences between racial discrimination now and before 1959; the survival of Afro-Cuban culture and religious practices; and tensions over sex education and about homosexuality. The photographs, unfortunately, suffer from barely-adequate reproduction. PA

Good Works: A Guide to Social Change Careers, 2d. ed.

Edited by Kathleen Hughes, preface by Ralph Nader
Center for Study of Responsive Law, order from Good Works, Dept. IT, Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036 193 pp., \$25

First-time job hunters as well as the newly unemployed and those dissatisfied with their work will find this updated guide helpful. Short profiles of

people in an array of challenging jobs give newcomers a good idea of what to expect, as does an excellent article by union organizer Kim Feller on working with unions. The bulk of the book is a directory that functions not only as a guide to future employers but as a reference list of social-issue organizations. The resource guide includes a reading list and a list of "networking" groups and training schools. Added bonus is a two-part index. PA

Pills, Pesticides and Profits:

The International Trade in Toxic Substances

Ruth Norris, editor
North River Press, Box 241, Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520 184 pp., \$10.95

In this useful handbook the authors, including scientist A. Karim Ahmed, lawyer S. Jacob Scherr and filmmaker Robert Richter, describe international trade in pesticides and drugs and its implications as well as the growing tendency to export manufacture involving hazardous substances. Proposals for action provide examples of citizen organizing and names of concerned groups. Of special value is an appendix reproducing transcripts of Richter's PBS documentary *Pesticides and Pills: For Export Only*. Indeed his solid work might better be sampled and studied in this format than on video. Other appendices provide tables of information of value to anyone taking action on this issue. Unusually, there is a student edition, available through the Council on International and Public Affairs, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. PA

Alternative Papers: Selections from the Alternative Press, 1979-1980

Edited by Elliott Shore, Patricia Case and Laura Daly
Temple University Press, 521 pp., \$14.95

Librarians impressed with the way the alternative press in the U.S. fulfills the promise of freedom of expression, if often to tiny audiences, edited this collection of 200 recent articles. They intended not only to present a diversity of perspectives and styles but to extend the readership of publications often hard to find in libraries. Articles are excerpted from 90-plus periodicals that "promote progressive social change," with stress on excerpts from *Seven Days*, *In These Times*, *WIN*, *Southern Africa*, *Northern Sun News*, *off our backs*, *Gay Community News* and *Undercurrents*. The editors argue that their selections also reveal "events and issues that the mass media ignored, distorted or missed altogether," and a browse through the excerpts substantiates their claim. PA

Battlefront Namibia

By John Ya-Otto, with Ole Gjerstad and Michael Mercer
Lawrence Hill, 151 pp., \$6.95

In this brief biography, Ya-Otto, minister of labor in the South West Africa People's Organization's government-in-exile, combines an account of the freedom movement in Namibia with a moving personal memoir. He describes childhood under apartheid and the contradictions in a colonial educational system that

seeks to teach Africans that they cannot be taught. As a younger teacher in an African school, Ya-Otto participated in the Old Location movement against forced resettlement and witnessed the Windhoek Massacre of 1959. An early member of SWAPO, he stayed in Namibia for much of the '60s, organizing and engaging in legal defense work while exiled leaders of the movement prepared for armed struggle. Ya-Otto's comments on the differences between exiles and non-exiles regarding the taking up of arms are worth rereading. So are his descriptions of the brutalities committed by the South African individuals and institutions who held him as a political prisoner. *Battlefront* calls to mind the autobiographies of Paul Robeson, Frederick Douglass and Malcolm X. It is a political statement based on passions so deep and experiences so concrete that its author can say, quite without histrionics, that it is right to rebel. He does not even have to say it. DR

A Poor Harvest: The Clash of Policies and Interests in the Grain Trade

By Richard Gilmore

Longman Press, 303 pp.

This analysis of the multinational grain conglomerates was written by an ex-staffer on the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. Without the dramatic flourish of Dan Morgan's book *Merchants of Grain* or the surreal wit of Peter Krieg's *September Wheat*, but with impressive and useful documentation, Gilmore identifies leading grain giants and their "minor league contenders." He shows their control over agriculture, linking their activities to the current farm crisis and describing their manipulation of government policies. He calls for strong governmental regulation of the grain giants, and also proposes a food bank that would balance agricultural production with farm income and supply with demand, both at home and abroad. SK

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Susan Kellam, David Roediger.



By Kathleen Hulser

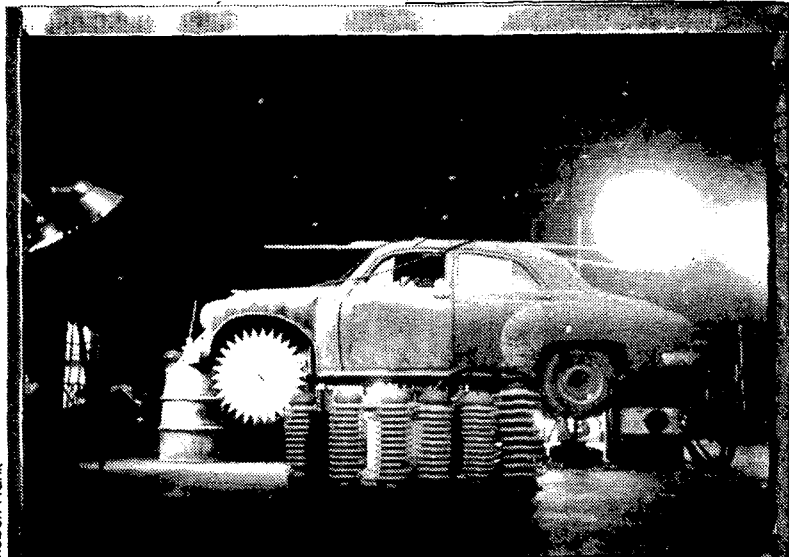
The relationship between public TV and filmmakers is perpetually controversial, and it is one indicator of what is wrong at public TV.

This spring's crop of controversies centered on the content of social documentaries. The contentious topics range from cussing and interracial dating in the *Seventeen* episode of *Middletown*; to the U.S. arming of King Hassan's Moroccan troops in a war against the Polisario Liberation Movement of the Western Sahara in Sharon Sopher's *Blood and Sand*; to life after Somoza in Helena Solberg-Ladd's *Nicaragua: From the Ashes*. The documentary series *Matters of Life and Death* has no particular identity. In a well-meaning attempt to satisfy two conflicting aims the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) made a series that's not a series. To meet the legislative requirement that at least some government program money trickle down to independent filmmakers, CPB designed the package to allow almost any project to fit in. But the local affiliates who were supposed to be seduced by the series' strategy haven't been buying it.

Although CPB and Public Broadcasting System (PBS) disagreements aren't new, much of the tension in the recent traumas is linked to bad blood between Washington and the locals. Although local stations would like to find a way to collect enough money to mount ambitious projects that might ward off the label of superficiality, they are reluctant to give up any decision-making power. By the time any consensus is reached on what to produce, more time and folding green has been expended than any of it is worth.

PBS remains lost in its usual fog, anxious to offend no one and preoccupied with the funding crises of its 288 member stations. For instance, after much silly discussion at PBS of what was typical or not typical of teens at Muncie Indiana's Southside High School, (the focus of the film), filmmakers Joel DeMott Peter Davis withdrew the producer Peter Davis withdrew the disputed *Seventeen* episode. Sopher's piece was rescheduled at the last minute, and there's no question the late switcheroo decreased the number of stations carrying the program. Ladd's *Nicaragua* doc-

"This is the most immoral TV I've seen," raged an exec.



ENERGY AND HOW TO GET IT raises prickly issues about what counts as "truth" on the tube.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



BLOOD AND SAND, critical of the Moroccan government, was moved out of prime time.

DOCUMENTARIES

Bad blood flows at PBS

umentary reached the airwaves intact, but suffered an attack from National Endowment for the Humanities chair William Bennett in the *New York Times*, raising the specter of outright government interference in program content.

Two recent and lesser-known incidents at the CPB Program Fund pose even more far-reaching questions about public TV's program philosophy. The two programs in question mix aesthetics and politics.

The CPB skirmishes concern two projects funded in accordance with peer panel recommendations, which were rejected for *Matters of Life and Death* upon completion. The original CPB guidelines said the Program Fund wished "to encourage producers to rethink and break through the conventional forms of broadcasting," adding that it hoped "new forms would emerge." Both Peter Adair's *Some of These Stories Are True* and Robert (Pull My Daisy) Frank and Gary Leon Hill's *Energy and How to Get It* seemed to fit the bill perfectly. Both mixed fact and fiction unconventionally, raising prickly issues of what counts as "truth" on the tube. Yet the same liberal CPB-ers who had not balked at controversial political content rejected both projects on the basis of their unusual formal strategies. One lesson to be drawn is that control of form does, insidiously, become control of content—and

this is particularly damning in an entity that claims to search for diverse form.

Haig and Tesla.

How do the rejected programs link art and politics? In *Some of These Stories Are True* Adair strings together three stories relating to the psychological dimensions of male violence, sexuality and power. One story, told by Lucian Truscott IV (author of *Dress Grey*), is an anecdote about his conflict with his old West Point commanding officer. Truscott recalls that his CO, Alexander Haig, was outraged when Truscott refused to attend mandatory chapel. Truscott won his case on civil rights grounds but more significant is the portrait of the military man, Haig, rendered hysterical by a challenge to his authority.

This on the basis of content alone is probably enough to unnerve Washington-based public programmers. But the reasons CPB offered for turning down the program don't mention Haig: the idea that of the three stories only two are true is what vexes them. According to Adair, when the tape was screened at the American Film Institute's 1981 Video Festival, a CPB executive was incensed at the "trick" of not being told what was fictitious until the credits rolled at the end of the show. "This is the most immoral television I've ever seen. I will never believe in television again," she angrily concluded.

Well, at least she got the point. Adair's documentary plus fiction forces the viewer to examine how and why each storyteller is persuasive (or not). Maybe it's frustrating for 30 minutes, but such reflections are certainly not irrelevant to educational TV.

The Frank/Hill program may be even more frustrating for tube-fed audiences. Both filmmakers proclaimed from the start their intention to disregard standard documentary form. The peer panel that approved their project included Richard Leacock and Shirley Clarke—figures familiar with Frank's work, whose critical judgment should carry weight.

Energy and How to Get It fol-

lows the trials and tribulations of Robert Golka, a maverick scientist working to harness fireball lightning for a fusion process intended to produce cheap, safe energy. Golka performs his experiments with a Tesla (after turn-of-the-century electrical inventor Nikola Tesla) tower, using old pinball machines, car parts and assorted scrap. Problems start when Golka's grant is cut and the Air Force hangar he rents is suddenly slapped with a 2,400 percent rent increase. (The hangar, ironically, was the one used to house the bomber Enola Gay, which dropped the big-A on Hiroshima.) Not content with the abrasive and eccentric style of Golka on film, Frank and Hill also introduce a few characters of their own such as William Burroughs playing an evil energy Czar.

The Golka fusion/lightning research and Burroughs' cameos are a back-handed critique of government-sponsored megabuck technologies. Frank/Hill make this point emotionally with their fictional character—putting Golka's offbeat research into context as a lone-cowboy activity, half art/half science, which may have practical results. Another element in the emotional appeal is Agnes Moon, Golka's 77-year-old companion, who becomes as engrossing a character as the persecuted inventor himself. The film is edited in typically slapdash Frank fashion: digressions outnumber the main themes. But these puzzles are not thornier than, say, the ominous incoherence of Patrick McGooohan's *The Stranger*, the BBC series that ran on network TV in the '60s.

As in Adair's case, it seems the double whammy of unconventional aesthetics and dissident politics is the stumbling block for public TV. Since CPB gave \$800,000 to the *Media Probes* series one can safely assume

are to entertain the ideas or vision of the world being offered." Public television must confront the "difficult creative challenge of producing programs that viewers will watch and pay for."

His own station has a "separate" non-profit producing arm called Amagin, which offers programs on these themes of freedom. (Chitester is head of Amagin and executive producer of its programs.) The first series, *Free to Choose*, features Milton Friedman expounding free market philosophy; other programs include *Money and Medicine*, about how supply and demand principles can improve health care, and *The War Called Peace*, about how the Soviet Union, "a shrewd and dangerous adversary," is "waging a third world war." The freedom of Amagin is bankrolled by foundations such as Scaife (backed by the Getty Oil fortune), and John H. Hartford (founded with monies from A&P). Chitester also plans a patriotic entertainment series featuring the music of Ray Coniff.

Chitester told *In These Times* his strategy to achieve independence from government funding is to emphasize "very specific program areas that appeal to funders." How much of Amagin's ability to attract funds—and avoid the stigma of government subsidy—reflects a tailoring of its editorial content to funders' preferences? In the Amagin brochure policy is described: "Through example, encourage a more enlightened view

Opinions seem to be OK when private money backs them.



THE MATTERS OF LIFE AND DEATH series (above, *DEAFMAN GLANCE*) has no identity as a series.

that issues of how the media persuades are an acceptable area for exploration. *Media Probes* did so in a slick fashion, complete with celebrity hosts telling how media works: a mainstream use of TV for education. Adair and Frank/Hill, however, operate as artists. Both raise provocative questions through the structuring of the material, leading the viewer to a mental stretching that is the opposite of the oft-cited hypnotic passivity of television.

What kind of forum for ideas can we expect on public TV if political controversy is too hot to handle, aesthetic innovation is suspect, public affairs are shooed offstage and funds dry up? Robert Chitester, head of PBS affiliate WQLN in Erie, Pa., offered some revealing remarks in a *New York Times* article.

"Drop the subsidies of PBS and deregulate telecommunications," advised Chitester. "A communicator must entertain you if you

of values of the market by working journalists, educators, clergy and other influential leaders...." Program plans include as a goal "to promote an awareness and understanding of the principles underlying the Reagan administration's economic policies."

Meanwhile, of course, as at any other PBS affiliate, WQLN receives taxpayer subsidies for station operating costs, national interconnection and programming. No high public TV officials or federal funders have criticized *Free to Choose* or other Amagin shows with strong viewpoints as NEH chair William Bennett attacked *Nicaragua*. Apparently, strong viewpoints are OK as long as they are supported by private money, even on public TV.

Kathleen Hulser is the editor of the *Foundation for Independent Video and Film's* magazine, *The Independent*, where this article appeared in longer form.



MOVIES

By Pat Aufderheide

Blade Runner is a delicious exercise in late industrial aesthetics, a popular film that deserves a curator's consideration. It's also an imaginative projection of late-late capitalist paranoia (40 years from now) done by high-tech poets. (Director Ridley Scott made *Alien*; the tech credits roll out the names of what surely must be half the people who have ever done effects for the studios, some of whom describe their project with enthusiasm in the latest *American Cinematographer*.) But its visual poetry has nothing to do with its narrative prose. A movie whose supposed theme is the defense of humanity against the inhuman becomes one about the power of a technological society to destroy everyone's personality and to shatter community.

Two radically different—and equally interesting—commentaries on the perils of modern lifestyles meet without merging. The plot is taken, with both too great and too little fidelity, from Philip K. Dick's novel, *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* Harrison Ford plays Deckard, an ex-"blade runner" or bounty hunter of androids. A mega-corporation is producing ever more-perfect androids, and one of them, in fact, Rachael (Sean Young), is so perfect she doesn't even know she's an android. When androids get out of control it's the police's job to "retire"—that is, kill them.

Several from the latest batch have run amok, killing people in their search for a way to prolong their four-year life span. Deckard's old boss dragoons him into the job of hunting them down, sending out an underling (Edward James Olmos) to keep an eye on him. The rest of the film takes up Deckard's struggles with his own apathy, his growing love for Rachael, and his hunt to kill the other members of Rachael's peer group.

But the movie isn't really about Deckard's troubles. It's about the world he lives in, a world of greed, mistrust, paranoia and a discontent that stems from false promises—a deluge of things substituting for a network of relationships.

The movie takes the conditions of a highly technologized late-capitalist society to logical extremes. On the ground, life looks something like a nightmare version of urban Japan today—ancient and ultramodern cheek by jowl, overcrowding, a raucous confusion of entertainment, food and goods, a constant assault of retail advertising. The options seem many but the comforts are few. Above the ground, though, American-style corporate luxury sets the tone, with spacious suites and super-soothing lights and sounds. Just off the crowded streets are wastelands of decaying old apartment buildings, nearly empty remnants of community.

The look of that world dominates the story. Gigantic sky-



The androids (above, Daryl Hannah) want to meet their maker.

Poetry from the soul of the new machines

scraper facades that echo patterns of computer microchips turn the wonders of modern hardware inside out. Matte effects create dizzying convincing 3-D views, which we survey through windshields of efficient little rocket-pod police cars puffing up and down the eerie night landscape of Los Angeles.

This hyper-artificial world might be succinctly summarized in the coldly glowing eyes of the mechanical animals and the androids, whose impassive gazes punctuate the film. But these filmmakers were not interested in succinctness—the riot of gadgets here adds up to downright self-indulgence. One character, a genetic engineer, lives in a house full of living toys, creaky semi-humans who fall somewhere between 19th-century British mechanical dolls and R2D2 in design. A lab scene looks like Frankenstein's workshop as imagined by Dante and drawn by Bosch.

Deckard's apartment is encrusted with looming decoration that crosses Mayan sculpture lines with computer chip patterns. Costumes emphasize the theatrical—stark white face paint, for instance, and sado-masochistic lines in street wear.

The sound track shakes you with stereo explosions and carries you along in anticipation and dread with synthesized wistfulness by Vangelis (*Chariots of Fire*). Auditory clues are cleverly inlaid—for instance street babble in which key words are repeated almost inaudibly.

It's a world compulsively overcrowded with information, much of it untrustworthy and all of it exhaustingly self-conscious. Here everything and everyone—human beings and androids alike—are constructed. No—worse—are in construction, in the process of asserting their style, their affect, their do-it-yourself persona.

Not all the movie's technical

wit has gone into futuristic images. It also calls up images out of the past, mostly the movie past. The hero is a cynical Sam Spade-like private eye who looks like a visual echo when he stands under crumbling pillars gazing through drizzle at the facade of a rundown hotel.

The megacorp president lives like *Citizen Kane*, in solitary bedroom splendor. The android Rachael dresses as if she's not sure if she's in *The Big Sleep* or *The Devil Is a Woman*.

This borrowing from Golden Oldies was supposed to give the film a prefab element of character and personality. The '40s gumshoe, for instance, is established in our pop folklore. He's a person with both troubles and principles. His alienation is the self-protectiveness of the last moral man in corrupt California.

It doesn't work. The alienated poses of yesteryear don't jive with this postmodern world, where everyone is either zoned out or on the make. The filmmakers don't really believe in the humanity of their human beings.



The blade runner (Harrison Ford) hunts them down.

In their version of 2019, human beings no longer have relationships and androids are learning to love. In their future existential questions are crafted on laboratories.

But if technicians create the new philosophy it's the capitalists who turn it into tragedy. When Rachael says to Deckard, "I'm not in the business—I am the business," she isn't talking

about the limitations the laboratory put on her, but those imposed by the profiteering requirements of the android firm entrepreneur.

Philip Dick's novel had an entirely different rationale. The danger from the androids lay in their missing ingredient—empathy. Empathy was not just the definition of being human, but a key to the survival of the species.

Empathy "blurred the boundaries between hunter and victim, between the successful and the defeated.... It resembled a sort of biological insurance, but double-edged. As long as some creature experienced joy, then the condition for all other creatures included a fragment of joy. However, if any living being suffered, then for all the rest the shadow could not be entirely cast off.... Evidently the humanoid robot constituted a solitary predator."

With Dick's setup, the conflict is two-part. It's physical—the androids really are a ruthless menace, whether they want to be or not. It's also psychological—the bounty hunter suffers for his sins. To be human is to have a conscience.

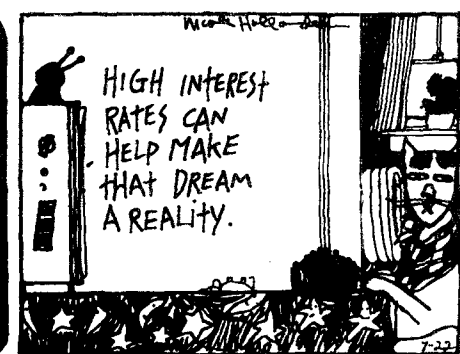
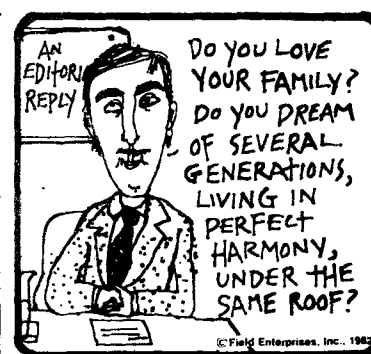
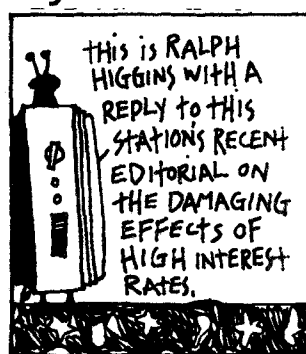
The Dick novel makes sense in other ways as well. This is a post-nuclear world where fallout has already killed almost all animals and eventually will make human beings who don't emigrate to "off-worlds" degenerate. The Earth, therefore, is depopulated and buildings stand empty. Animals are objects of religious reverence and also brisk trade. Those who can't get live ones buy clever artificial imitations. In the novel the detective isn't a loner but a harassed suburban husband, doomed to Earth because of his special job and driven to take the bounty contract for the commission, so he and his upwardly aspiring wife can buy a real animal. The movie kept many of these conventions without explaining them or incorporating them into its very different vision.

Even so, perhaps better than they planned, these movie-magic technicians have etched the dark implications of high-tech lifestyles, and shared their horrifying fascination with it. Their sympathies, as the ending shows, lie with the machines.

Meanwhile, maybe somebody could get a copy of Dick's novel, with its very different—and in some ways less pessimistic—vision of the human spirit, onto the bedside tables of negotiators at the next disarmament talks.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



States

Continued from page 7

testified before a House subcommittee that she foresaw an end to federal assistance for enforcement of environmental laws. Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) director Thorne Auchter plans a similar phase-out of workplace law enforcement.

Despite the overwhelming evidence that President Reagan is pursuing his strategy without regard to consequence, many California officials dismiss the New Federalism threat. An aide to Assemblyman Tom Bates says, "There is no sense in Sacramento that welfare programs are coming to the states. And we expect to be running Medi-Cal (the state Medicaid program) for some time in the future."

At the county level, a spokesman for supervisor John George says, "New Federalism is a long time coming. It will be opposed in Congress and by local governments across the country. Besides, it's apparent that the county government is not capable of financing the huge AFDC program."

Finally, an aide to Berkeley mayor Gus Newport comments, "New Federalism is all rhetoric so far—there's no back-up legislation. We don't believe anything Reagan says."

But the accumulated cuts in federal social spending are real enough. The 1981-82 Reagan budget trimmed \$152 million from Medi-Cal, \$113 million from the state's housing and economic development, \$279 million from education, \$42.5 million in transportation and will eliminate \$500 million from proposed sewage treatment plants in San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego. In all, California's share of federal spending dropped \$5.5 billion.

The Reagan cuts came just as the full impact of Proposition 13 hit California.

Passed in 1978, the property tax-cutting measure would have shut down schools and services in hundreds of communities if a state surplus had not been available. That surplus is now gone, and this year local governments face cuts of 25 percent or more in state aid. Since Prop 13 passed San Francisco has cut 1,200 jobs, Oakland 1,000, and San Jose and Berkeley about 200 each. And Santa Clara County—the home of Silicon Valley—faces a budget shortage of at least \$57 million this year.

The Prop 13 tax limitations on local government produced a dramatic shift in funding responsibility to the state. More than 80 percent of school district funds, for instance, now comes from state government. That added pressure has greatly increased tensions at the state capitol, where legislators have discovered that both the federal and local governments have shifted responsibility in their direction.

"Cities and counties should remind themselves that they lost their revenue after Prop 13—not us," says Assembly speaker Willie Brown. "We took out surplus and bailed them out, and that's something I'm beginning to regret."

This year's state budget of \$25.2 billion was the first reduction in state spending since 1943, an election-year program that included no new taxes and cut deeply into existing social services. The budget left out pay raises for 220,000 state and state university employees, cost-of-living increases for the 1,000 school districts in California and for 1.5 million welfare recipients, and greatly reduced state aid to cities and counties. Meanwhile, the state dutifully set up a "block grant advisory committee"—composed largely of local community group members—to make recommendations for still more cuts man-

dated by the 1983 federal budget.

Clearly, the combination of federal spending cuts and local tax limits have taken an enormous toll in the quality of social services in the state. But it has also done something much worse. It has institutionalized, perhaps for years to come, two levels of care based on class. The most obvious examples in California are health care and education.

One of the ways state legislators managed to balance the fiscal 1983 budget in late June was the so-called "Medi-Cal massacre." Over \$400 million in cuts were made in the \$5.1 billion statewide program. More important, historic changes were made in the way California provides medical care for the poor and elderly. From now on a special negotiator will choose hospitals, doctors and pharmacies from among those bidding for the job. Medi-Cal patients will then be allowed treatment only by those providers.

The bill also made a 10 percent across-the-board cut in rates paid for services, further shrinking the pool of bidders. "In practice," says research director John Bowers of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), "the only places bidding on these jobs will be county hospitals. The entire health care system will return to the days prior to 1963, when the Medi-Cal bill opened up mainstream health care for the poor."

The state budget also managed to leave "medically indigent adults," or MIAs, completely out in the cold. These are the so-called working poor, people who don't qualify for Medi-Cal and don't make enough money to pay for health care. Responsibility for the estimated 300,000 MIAs in the state was shifted to the county government, where treatment will be "contingent on the availability of funds," Bowers says.

Public education in California has been hit even harder by the combination of Prop 13 and Reagan cutbacks. "Since Reagan took office, federal education programs have been cut 34 percent, and bilingual programs have been cut in half," says Harvey Kahn, communications director for United Teachers of Los Angeles, a citywide joint NEA-AFT local.

Kahn points out that the great influx of women in the workforce in recent years has put tremendous new burdens on the public schools when they are least able to cope with them. "Two-income working families now depend on the schools for everything from baby-sitting to developing a child's analytical skills," he says.

"Yet starting pay in the Los Angeles school district is \$13,500—if you've got a family of four, you qualify for food stamps! Because of overcrowding in minority neighborhoods, 95 schools in the district are open year-round. We're using 15-year-old school books, and obviously

can't keep up with the current level of computer technology in the high schools. So the upper classes get out. You're left with the poor teaching the poor, and kids who aren't trained for the job market."

President Reagan's response to the crisis in the schools is tuition tax credits—up to \$500 a year—for families sending their children to private schools. Again presented as "local control" and "freedom of choice," tuition tax credits, according to Kahn, would cripple the public schools. He anticipates a major struggle by both the NEA and AFT during the next two years.

The short-term political reason for all this—from New Federalism to tuition tax credits—is that the poor can't fight back when budgets have to be cut.

Oakland city councilman Wilson Riles Jr. says, "Poor people don't have a lobby. It's that simple. The people are not organized."

The long-term reasons are a bit more subtle. From Reagan's early days as governor of California, he has publicly championed small capital over big capital, local interests over regional or national interests. He apparently believes—all evidence to the contrary—that the federal government is the principal restraint on "the mighty engine of democracy." In pursuit of those goals, he ironically offers great assistance to big capital by lowering national wage standards, environmental standards and social welfare standards. In the name of the states he serves to weaken national labor agreements with multinational corporations. To a degree, Wall Street will give him enough rope to do what damage he can.

But there is very little evidence to show anyone is fooled by New Federalism. Its support—by Southern, Western and rural officials—comes from proponents of laissez-faire, not states' rights. As a political philosophy it comes from the same stable as David Stockman's "Trojan horse." The U.S. economy is far too centralized and far too integrated overseas for serious reconsideration of the Federalist Papers.

Reagan's rationale for destroying the public welfare bureaucracy, however, is dangerously thin. The whole program could backfire if New Federalism breeds new militancy among those at the brink of permanent second-class status.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Association for Workplace Democracy
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party-National Office
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003
3244 N. Clark Street
Chicago, IL 60657

29 29th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

New Patriot Alliance/DSOL
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

ORGANIZE!

a socialist youth movement



7th ANNUAL SUMMER YOUTH CONFERENCE

invited speakers include:

Michael Harrington, Roberta Lynch, James Farmer, Manning Marable, Stella Nowicki, Jim Weinstein, Steve Max, Ray Rogers, Peter Dreier, Gordon Adams, Cornell West, Rosemary Ruether and more.....

PROGRAM: socialists in electoral politics, workshops on disarmament, labor, civil rights, socialist feminism, community organizing, the economic crisis, theory, student aid cutbacks, Skills training in campus, electoral, peace and community organizing.

JOIN US for a weekend of political discussion, debate and fun!

August 19-22, 1982
Ohio U., Athens, OH

Co-Sponsored by: the Institute for Democratic Socialism, and the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialists of America.

For more information, please contact DSA Youth Section at 853 Broadway, Suite 801, N.Y., N.Y. 10003 (212) 260-3270.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

ATHENS, OH

August 19-22

Join the nation's largest socialist youth organization for the 7th annual Democratic Socialists of America Summer Youth Conference at Ohio University. Michael Harrington, Stella Nowicki, James Weinstein, Roberta Lynch, Steve Max, James Farmer (invited); workshops—Disarmament, Labor, Feminism, Theory, Financial Aid Cuts, Community Organizing and more; skills training—electoral, campus, peace. Information: DSA Youth Section, (212) 260-3270.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

August 27

Towards a Revitalized Left: DSA Chair Michael Harrington; Guillermo Ungo, President, FDR (El Salvador); William Winpisinger, President, IAM; and Barbara Ehrenreich, DSA Vice-Chair, will discuss prospects for the left in the 1980's. Sponsored by the Western Region of DSA. 8:00 p.m. Friday, Nourse Auditorium, 275 Hayes. For advance tickets or more information, call (415) 550-1849.

LOS ANGELES, CA

September 11

A Workshop on Peace sponsored by DSA will provide education on the importance of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Initiative, and explore the tasks and opportunities for creating a nuclear-free socialist society after the November elections. 9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. at the Socialist Community School, 2936 W. 8th St. For more information: (213) 385-0650.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING in El Salvador? How great a radiation threat is posed by nuclear power plants and their toxic wastes? Read about these and other crucial issues in *The Progressive*, America's leading independent magazine. New subscriber offer: 12 issues for \$12. If you enclose payment with your order, you will receive an extra month free. Mailing address: *The Progressive*, 400 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703.

GLOBAL THREATS to third world minorities reported and analyzed in *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. For sample: *Cultural Survival*, 11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

A FRIENDLY LETTER is a new Quaker newsletter, reporting on the Friends' work for peace, justice and religious community. A unique, challenging monthly. Subscriptions \$12/yr, samples FREE from P.O. Box 1361, Dept. TT, Falls Church, VA 22041.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD from London, oldest continuous socialist monthly. Trial subscription \$5.50 six months. Order WSP, c/o Selfert, 27 Spring St., Watertown, MA 02172.

PLANT CLOSINGS Resource Guide—information and annotated bibliography of events, effects, issue analyses, church responses, legislation and worker ownership—"A good tool for organizers," says Roberta Lynch of ITT/DSA. \$3. ICUIS, 5700 S. Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, IL 60637.

IDEAS & ACTION—magazine of North American anarcho-syndicalists. Committed to direct action approach, rank-and-file workers' democracy, self-managed socialism. Issue #2: Poland, Central America, fighting concessions. Subscriptions (4 issues): \$6. P.O. Box 40400, San Francisco, CA 94110.

LAUGH! GUTS: The unique cartoon magazine guaranteed to rearrange your synapses. What vision! \$1.50 ppd. Steve Latler, Box 982, Eugene, ORE 97440.

FREE SAMPLE—political newsletter. Write: Washington Report, P.O. Box 10309, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

HELP WANTED

NON-SECTARIAN, radical book publishing collective seeks Third World staff members. We specialize in books dealing with class, race and sex oppression and have a non-hierarchical, collective work process. Long hours and \$12,000 yearly salary with health benefits. Prior experience in working collectives is helpful. Please send a resume of your political and practical experience to South End Press, 302 Columbus Ave., Boston, MA 02116.

ORGANIZER—Brown Lung Association, an organization of disabled Southern textile workers, seeks per-

sons to do organizing in Greenwood, S.C. Duties include membership building, outreach, local fundraising. Previous organizing experience preferred, car essential. \$8,500 year plus benefits. Contact: Greg Campbell, Greenwood BLA, P.O. Box 951, Greenwood, SC 29648, (803)227-3711.

THE FLORIDA PUBLIC INTEREST Research Group, an environmental and consumer advocacy organization run and funded by the students of Florida, is hiring one Senior Organizer and 3 campus Project Directors. Senior Organizer (\$12,000 plus benefits) will coordinate activities on campuses in Tallahassee, Miami and Boca Raton and lead organizing in Tampa. P.D. (\$8,000 plus benefits) will coordinate daily office activities on campuses. Send resume, references, and writing sample to FPIRG, P.O. Box U-6367, Tallahassee, FL 32313.

AFL-CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION seeks organizers throughout the country with combined practicality and vision, belief in democratic trade unionism and commitment to years of long hours and hard work. Men, women, blacks, whites, Hispanics, Anglos, others should submit applications to: Search Committee, Box 25574, Los Angeles, CA 90025.

WBAI-FM/NY is looking for a top-notch administrator to fill the position of General Manager. Applicants should be experienced at fundraising and skilled in financial matters. The ability to work under pressure with a wide variety of personalities and ideas is a must. Experience with volunteer organizations helpful; knowledge of community radio desirable but not essential. Salary: \$18,000-20,000. Deadline: Aug. 31, 1982. Resume to: Pacifica Foundation, 5316 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019.

THE INSTITUTE FOR FOOD and Development Policy is seeking a full-time experienced financial development director to plan and direct its annual grant-raising drives from foundations and individuals and its direct mail and membership donor campaigns. \$14,630 annually, full medical and dental benefits, and child allowance. Send resumes to Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94103.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUTTONS & BUMPERSTICKERS in stock & custom-printed (union made). Free stock catalogue, whole-

The Ugly Truth About Crime and Criminals!

Will 20th Century Society End By 2000 A.D.?

A HABITATION OF DEVILS

The author, William L. Parnham, a retired consulting criminologist, makes a persuasive case for that possibility—"In the absence of prompt remedial action," and argues with compelling logic for:

- Uniform imposition of the death penalty for specific crimes;
- Mandatory restitution for victims of crimes;
- Uniform criminal code—"A mandatory guide for inferior jurisdictions."

"...a chilling condemnation of America's Justice System... Brave, indeed, and rare will be the reader who switches off a bedside light before checking all doors..."

E. EUGENE BOYLAN, Publisher, Ottawa Sentinel

"...Should be read by all concerned citizens—lawmen and law enforcement professionals!"

BERNARD J. SHULMAN, The Police Chief

288 pages, clothbound, \$15.95. Send orders to: VERITAS PUBLICATIONS, Box 4418, Arlington, Virginia 22204

CHINESE PEOPLES

Lined all cotton cap from China. Durable, practical, comfortable. Navy, tan, grey or white. Sizes: S-M-L-XL.

Send \$5.00 ppd. or 2 for \$9.00 ppd. to:

Newport Cap Co.
P.O. Box 1226-T
Newport, Oregon 97363

sale custom printing prices. Donnelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976, (201)538-6676.

NEW PEACE POSTCARDS and paraphernalia, lovely original art, religious (nonsectarian) quotes. Help spread the message that the arms race must stop, by god! 20 assorted cards \$3; samples FREE from: Kimo Press, P.O. Box 1361, Dept. TT, Falls Church, VA 22041.

"YOU CAN'T HUG A CHILD WITH Nuclear Arms" buttons: 2/\$1.50, 10/\$6, 25/\$50; T-shirts, \$7; bumperstickers, \$2. P.O. Box 3102, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

BORN TO CLEAN and Ladies Against Women—buttons \$1; Consciousness Lowering Kits, \$5; Plutonium Players Theater Troupe, 1600 Woolsey, Berkeley, CA 94703.

"STOP THE ARMS RACE NOW!"; "Nuclear Free Zone!"; "Work for a Nuclear-Free World!"; "Freeze Nuclear Weapons!"; "Make Love, Not War!"; "Solidarity" (Polish); "Beware the Actor" (Reagan graphic); "Let Them Eat Jellybeans!"; "Money for Jobs, Not for War!"; "Politically Correct!"; "Question Authority!"; "Take the Toys Away from the Boys—Disarm." Buttons: 2/\$1, 10/\$4, 50/\$15; 100/\$25. Ellen Ingber, P.O. Box 752-T, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

HOUSING WANTED

ROOM IN VEGETARIAN COOPERATIVE Household sought by feminist lawyer and feline friend. Chicago, effective Sept. 1. I like kids. Can come to meet you. No Anita Bryant fans. Call Sherry collect at (313)995-0264.

BOOKS

WHAT ABOUT WAR, the environment, the human suffering? Many of us think the same about such social insanity. What do we do about it? "World Without Wages," 228 pp., \$8.50 postpaid. Order WSP, c/o Selfert, 97 Spring St., Watertown, MA 02172.

FORMER SECRETS

Government Records Made Public Through the Freedom of Information Act

"...a study showing that the (FOIA) has been an invaluable ally of openness in government."

Los Angeles Times

200 pp. \$15. Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002.

WANTED

A social issues organization in Chicago to share Loop office space. Air conditioned—your share only \$225/month. Call Women for Peace (312)663-1227 or drop in Suite 705, 343 S. Dearborn.



Wear ITT This Summer!

In These Times T-shirts and hats are now available. Wear them this summer and stay cool while publicizing your favorite newspaper.

T-shirts:
X-L black and red
L black, light blue and red
M black, light blue and tan
S black, light blue, tan and yellow
Specify 1st and 2nd preference. \$8.95 each postpaid.

Red or blue mesh hats are adjustable and come in one size. \$5.95 each postpaid.

Special Offer
Buy a T-shirt and a hat together for just \$11.00.
ITT, Box A, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

REDLETTER BOOKS. 666 Amsterdam, New York's independent left bookshop.

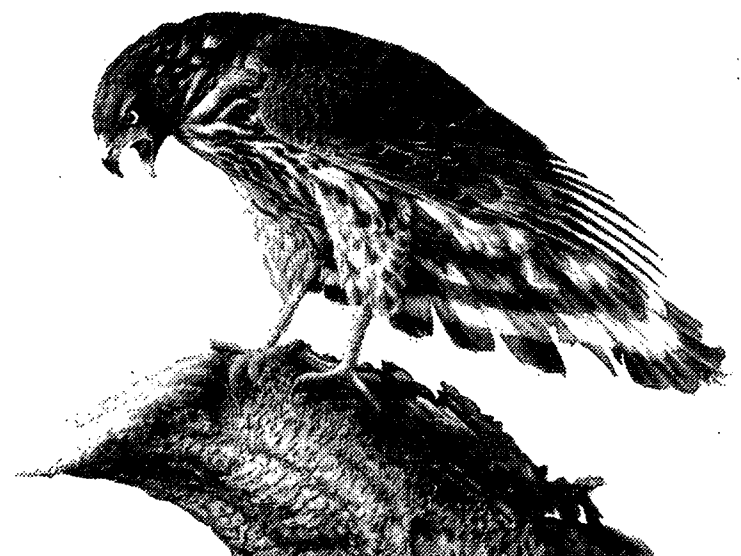
Summit, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. (313) 662-3282 or, (313) 769-3099.

REAL ESTATE

IF YOU ARE planning to buy or sell real estate in the Ann Arbor area, please contact Rose Hochman, c/o Garnet Johnson Associates, 325 E.

FOR SALE

CARS sell for \$117.95 (average). Also Jeeps, Pickups. Available at local Gov't Auctions. For Directory call 805-687-6000 Ext. 2440. Call refundable.



A New Wildlife Print by Ed Newbold

This striking black and white print, "Juvenile Female Cooper's Hawk" by Northwest wildlife artist Ed Newbold, is available to *In These Times* subscribers for only \$10, including postage. The 8 x 10" print comes framed in an attractive 13 x 16" soft gray mat and is ready for hanging. Your print will be sent immediately upon receipt of payment. Send orders to Newbold Wildlife Prints, P.O. Box 22344, Seattle WA. 98122.

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL 60622. (312)489-4444



Remember—only YOU can prevent JAMES WATT!

Hand-screened, two-color design on high quality, light blue T-SHIRTS.

NOOKSACK VALLEY SILKSCREENERS
Box # 52, Nooksack, Washington 98276

☐ Regular: \$7.00 s m l xl } circle size
☐ French cut: \$8.00 s m l xl }

Name:

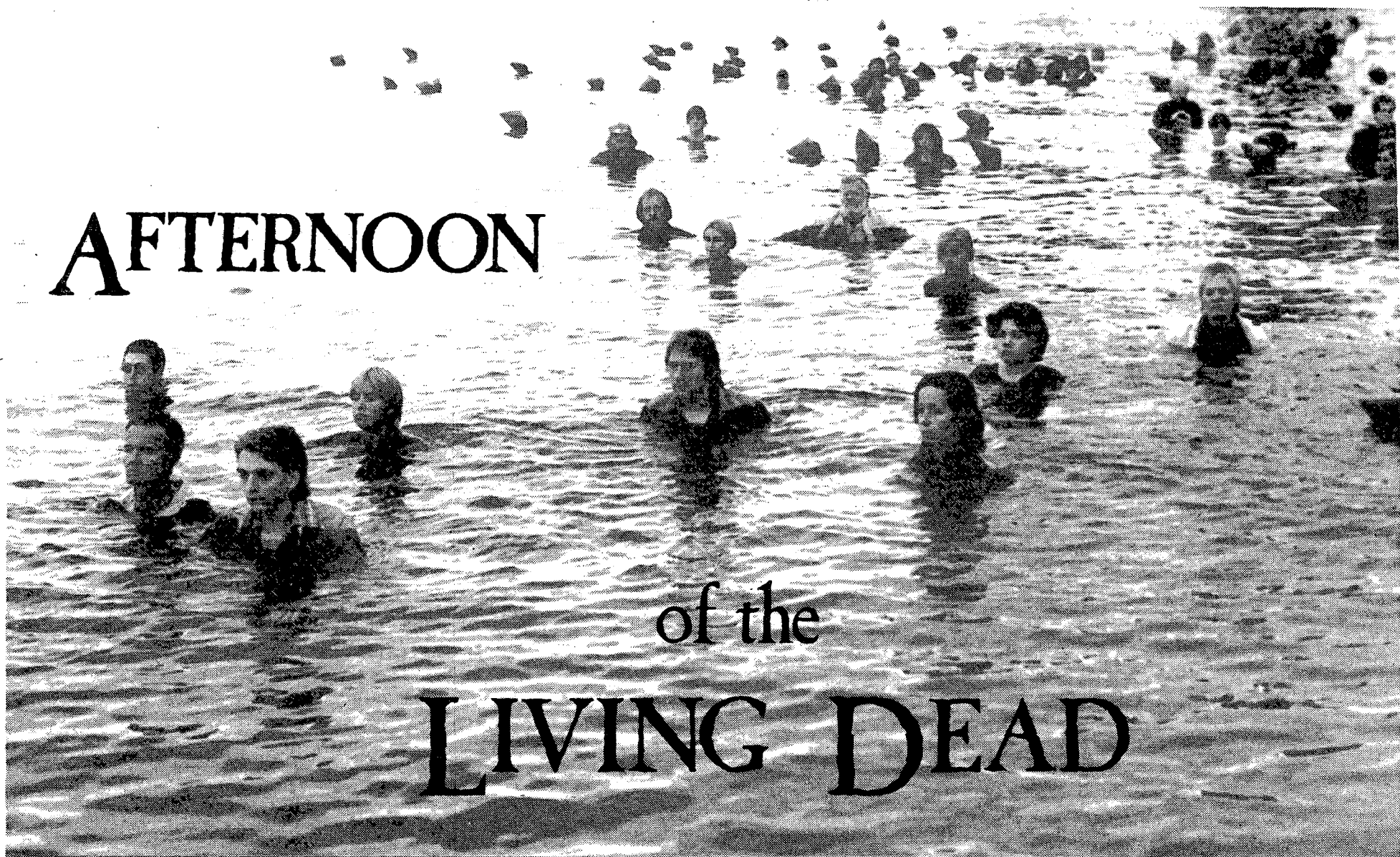
Address:

Zip:

Please add \$1.00 p&h per order. Thank you!

AFTERNOON

of the LIVING DEAD



Torben Voigt

By Lawrence Weschler

"I'M GETTING A CERTAIN amount of flak for this from people at other museums," Knud Jensen, the founder and director of Denmark's Louisiana Museum told me one afternoon early last fall, as he stood beside the magnificent Henry Moore bronze that caps his collection's magnificent sculpture park. About 100 feet down the bluff and then beyond the swath of lawn and fringe of sand, the Oresund glistened in the late afternoon light—a calm blue sea strait, and in the distance, hazy on the far shore, Sweden. On the other side of the Moore, the museum's wide lawn teemed with visitors decked out in all manner of festive attire, carrying banners and posters, gathering around makeshift booths, collecting literature, sampling pastries, and listening to poetry.

Knud Jensen had opened his museum, one of the finest repositories of modern art in Northern Europe (some 30 miles north of Copenhagen) to Scandinavian antinuclear movement activists. Thousands of visitors were converging from as far away as Oslo, Stockholm and Hamburg for a day of vigilance and celebration.

Jensen, a cheerfully amiable 65-year-old gentleman, slid the hollow of his palm along the hollows of his Moore. "I keep being told," he continued, "it's not a good thing to mix museumship and politics like this. But my co-workers here at Louisiana and I have gone to a tremendous effort to create this sanctuary for art, so that it will be here for our children and grandchildren. I guess we just consider it part of our curatorial responsibility to do whatever we can to make sure that they will be here to enjoy it."

Pastors and ecologists, hippies and businessmen ambled among the Calderes and the Arps. Some of them sported string about their wrists, and attached to the string, black plastic baggies hanging limp. If you asked what the baggies signified, their carriers simply said they'd been given them at the entrance, and then moved on.

The air was beginning to cool although the sun was still high in the sky when the bells of the neighboring church pealed six o'clock. It must have been five after six

before we began to notice; first one person and then another, and then dozens all over the grounds, frozen, shock still, in a deathlike trance. Children and matrons. Businessmen and teenagers. Old ladies and farmer-types. Frozen, deathly still, limp black baggies hanging by their sides.

Only not so still after all. You'd look away and then look again and they'd have moved—infinitiesimally. They were all moving, maybe a few feet each minute, but moving nonetheless—toward the bluff. Afternoon of the Living Dead. By 6:15 the zombies had coalesced into three vague groups: one proceeding out from the cafeteria terrace to the north, another down the gully that bisects the sculpture park, and the last proceeding across the wide lawn to the south—all moving, ever so slowly, toward and down the face of the bluff. The rest of us looked on, stunned. Some giggled nervously. Little kids ran up to the zombies and tried to distract them, to no effect. They simply crept on, pasty-faced—not even grim exactly, just absent—emptily compelled. Focused, isolate—Giacometti.

By about 6:45 the three columns had begun to converge at the foot of the bluff. Now they continued on out across the narrow lawn, toward the sand and the strait, utterly deliberate, utterly mindless. There were about 200 of them. Any laughter had stopped. The silence was incredibly immediate. Time itself seemed to have congealed.

Grass onto gravel onto sand. And they kept advancing, dreamlike. A few of them were quite fat; many were quite young; some gray-haired. Inevitable sleepwalkers.

Still, it came as a terrific shock when the first one entered the water. Or rather, failed to stop at the water's edge. The wavelets slapped across the man's shoes—a few minutes later he was immersed to his knees, and all the rest were following. They just followed him in, all of them—mindless and determined.

The water was cold, and their flesh seemed to rebel. Rampant goosepimples gave way to uncontrollable shivering. They continued on. As the small waves rose and fell, wet clothes clung to limbs and torsos not yet entirely submerged. This death march became suddenly intensely erotic. Cloth outlined sinew: thigh, groin, arm, breast, hair.

They were in it up to their necks before they began to veer (one child, in a mirac-

Performance art for disarmament in Denmark



Torben Voigt

ulous moment, erupted into tears as the water reached his waist—he sprang abruptly free of his trance. Humiliated, he bounded out of the water into the arms of his grandmother who'd been watching from the shore—the strangest figure of hope I've ever seen). The black bags bobbed by the veering heads, and moving parallel to the shore, the zombies now cut them free.

Downshore a bit, a low canoe dock thrust out perpendicular from the shore, and the zombie heads were presently

drifting underneath it. One by one, the sleepwalkers emerged from the water and filed—still trance slow, dripping, shivering violently—through the doors of a large converted boat house. Once inside, one by one, they snapped to. Friends offered them towels and cups of hot rum, and they grabbed them gladly. It took over a half hour before the last one made it through the door and back to life.

I entered the large hanger.

Kirsten Dehlholm, the leader of one of the columns, a woman in her mid 30s with sharp features, her hair punkishly styled, was drying off to one corner. "So," she said, a smile breaking across her previously blank face, "What did you think of our trained snails?" We were presently joined by Per Basse, a strikingly tall, handsome young man with a shock of blond hair, who'd headed the cafeteria group, and Else Fenger, a somewhat older, shorter and more conventional-looking woman, who'd led the lawn contingent. The three of them, along with architect Charlotte Cecilie, who wasn't present for this occasion, have been working together since 1977 (Dehlholm had previously been a sculptor, Basse a set designer and Fenger a lithographer), founding the Billedstøfteater.

"That translates roughly as Picture Theater," explained Basse, "or Theater of the Image. We are basically a group of performance artists interested in a theater built out of spaces, rooms, occasions, images, rather than literary sources. We often try to involve others in our conceptions—we usually stage them in public spaces around Copenhagen—the library, the museum, the Round Tower.

"We almost always work in slow motion, usually exploring themes from everyday life—eating, sleeping, walking—slowing things down to help people notice them. In a way that's what we were doing here—trying to find an image, a way of helping people to notice what is going on."

"Ordinarily our themes are not so overtly political," explained Dehlholm. "And indeed this particular performance wasn't so much political in itself as it was made political by its surround—an antinuclear festival."

I asked how the performance had come about. "We were contacted several months ago by the people here at Louisiana who were organizing this Peace Fest-

Continued on page 18